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THE FORGOTTEN HALF

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YOUTH AND AMERICA'S FUTURE:

THE WILLIAM T. GRANT FOUNDATION COMMISSION ON WORK, FAMILY AND CITIZENSHIP

When William Thomas Grant established the Grant Foundation in 1936, he sought a better understanding of the ways in which individuals adapt to the vicissitudes of life. Touched in his professional life by the importance of caring human relationships, Mr. Grant wished to "help children develop what is in them" so they would better "enjoy all the good things the world has to offer them."

Fifty years later, recognizing the special needs of older adolescents in a changing society, the Foundation's Trustees established **Youth and America's Future** with much the same purpose: its charge is not to engage in new research but to evaluate current knowledge, stimulate new ideas, increase communication among researchers, practitioners, and policymakers and, thus, help our nation chart a better future for youth.

The Foundation's President, Robert J. Haggerty, M.D., has described the Commission's unique perspective:

"Against a rising chorus of legitimate concern about the many problems facing today's youth, the Foundation has initiated this Commission on Youth and America's Future to speak in a different voice. It will explore the strengths of America's young men and women, their families, and the programs and community institutions that serve them. We adopt this approach not to diminish the importance of the problems that exist, but to learn the lessons of success. The Foundation is confident that this effort to look with renewed respect at youth, where they stride as well as where they stumble, will help forge the links of understanding and mutual responsibility that make our democracy strong."

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THE FORGOTTEN HALF

PATHWAYS TO
SUCCESS FOR
AMERICA'S
YOUTH AND
YOUNG

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THE FORGOTTEN HALF: PATHWAYS TO SUCCESS FOR AMERICA'S YOUTH AND YOUNG FAMILIES

Summary

Who are the Forgotten Half? In non-statistical terms, they are the young people who build our homes, drive our buses, repair our automobiles, fix our televisions, maintain and serve our offices, schools, and hospitals, and keep the production lines of our mills and factories moving. To a great extent, they determine how well the American family, economy, and democracy function. They are also the thousands of young men and women who aspire to work productively but never quite "make it" to that kind of employment. For these members of the Forgotten Half, their lives as adults start in the economic limbo of unemployment, part-time jobs, and poverty wages. Many of them never break free.

Our two-year study of 16-24-year-olds has convinced us that, as young Americans navigate the passage from youth to adulthood, far too many flounder and ultimately fail in their efforts. Although rich in material resources, our society seems unable to ensure that *all* our youth will mature into young men and women able to face their futures with a sense of confidence and security. This is especially true of the 20 million non-college-bound young people we have termed the Forgotten Half.

The difficulties of adolescence, complicated by rapid social and economic change, can be overwhelming. Increasing numbers of adolescents are growing up in financially-strapped, single-parent families or must adjust to the economic and emotional turmoil of their parents' divorce. Opportunities for today's young workers who begin their careers with only a high school diploma or less are far more constrained than were those of their peers of 15 years ago. Typically, they cope with bleak job prospects by delaying marriage and the formation of their families. Many stop looking for work altogether. Disappointed in their ambitions and frustrated in their efforts to find a satisfying place in their communities, an unacceptably high number of young Americans give little in return to their families, their schools, and their work—institutions that have often shortchanged them. A kindlier society would support the Forgotten Half; a more gentle people would encourage them. A pragmatic nation would acknowledge that its very future depends on them.

Caught in a Bind

Half of our youth are in danger of being caught in a massive bind that can deny them full participation in our society and the full benefit of their own talents. Indeed, *one of the cruelest myths of contemporary American life is the claim that our economy is healthy because unemployment is relatively low.* Employment data obscure the radical job market changes of recent years, the increase of one-parent families, the growing number of working poor and part-time workers, as well as the large numbers of people who have simply stopped looking for work. Non-college-bound young

people, in particular, are beset on every side with a series of circumstances that severely limit their prospects:*

- *Their opportunities are shrinking for "a job with a future"*—a job that provides personal growth, the chance to master new skills, and the opportunity to earn promotions. Wrenching change characterizes the job market.
- *Young workers age 20-24 suffer extraordinarily high unemployment rates*: 6.8 percent for whites, 11 percent for Hispanics, and 20.3 percent for blacks in 1988. Despite an economic boom for many other Americans, teenagers' unemployment rates remain catastrophically high: 15.8 percent in August 1988 for all teenagers, 32.4 percent for black teens.
- Their *real income is in steep decline, and has been for more than a decade*. Young (age 20-24) male workers' real mean earnings in 1986 ($9,027) were fully one-quarter less than the identical age group earned 13 years earlier ($12,166 in 1986 dollars).

Young families have borne the weight of this economic dislocation. The institution of the young family has become dangerously unstable, besieged by shrinking rates of marriage, higher rates of single-parent households and absentee fathers, and increasing poverty. Evidence that the young family is losing ground is, by now, incontrovertible:

- The real median income of families headed by a 20-24-year-old fell 27 percent from 1973 to 1986. Their ability to purchase homes also declined sharply. Home ownership among married household heads under age 25 with children decreased from 38.9 percent to 29.1 percent between 1973 and 1987.
- Between 1974 and 1986, the proportion of married 20-24-year-old males living with their spouses plummeted by almost one-half, from 39.1 to 21.3 percent.
- The percentage of 20-24-year-old males able to support a family of three above the poverty level dropped by nearly a quarter, from 58.3 percent in 1973 to 43.8 percent in 1986. The rate of decline among blacks in that same group was more than twice as great—a full 55 percent.
- Only 6.3 percent of all single-parent families were able to afford payments on their own home in 1987, down more than one-half from 13.7 percent in 1973.
- As a result, the number of young, single-parent renter households nearly doubled. It is estimated that these young families would have had to pay 81.1 percent of their total income to afford decent rental housing in 1987—up from 46.2 percent in 1974.
- In 1986, 32.6 of every 100 families headed by a person under age 25 was poor, triple the rate for all American families in 1986, and more than double that of 1967.

Early struggles have always been a predictable part of any family's life cycle. Today's young families, however, without the prospect of a growing economy before them, start out far behind the generation that preceded them. Many will never know the economic opportunities that their parents enjoyed. Nor is their plight likely to improve with the passage of time or the benefit of experience. Once behind, they tend to stay behind.

The Foundations of Change

Pointing to specific, hopeful examples, this report recommends improved relationships with adults, increased family and community support, and better opportunities for education, employment, and community service to achieve a more equitable balance in the Forgotten Half's odds for success. *These are necessary first steps to a fair chance for the non-college-bound*. Alone, these recommendations cannot guarantee the economic vitality in which troubled young families can overcome their difficulties and flourish. Rather, they are designed to ensure that, as our nation's leaders and businesses re-establish America's economic position and create expanded opportunities for productive labor at a decent family wage, members of the

* Sources for the data used by the Commission may be found in the Full Report.

Forgotten Half will be well-equipped to take their place as first class contributors in a world class economy.

Young people's experiences at home, at school, in the community, and at work are strongly interconnected, and our response to problems that arise in any of these domains must be equally well integrated. Our society cannot expect to deal successfully with just one aspect of a young person's life and hope to bring focus to every other. *Efforts to produce success in school—without complementary efforts in families and communities—are unlikely to make a substantial difference for young people.* In addition, since the years before 16 powerfully affect the lives of children and adolescents, recommendations that only center on the needs of 16-24-year-olds are incomplete. All young people need:

- more constructive contact with adults who can help them guide their talents into useful and satisfying paths;
- opportunities to participate in community activities that they and adults value, especially giving service to others;
- special help with particularly difficult problems ranging from learning disabilities to substance addiction; and
- initial jobs, no matter how modest, that offer a path to accomplishment and to career opportunity.

Understanding Where We Are

The world around us has changed, but our institutions have not responded with the flexibility required to help lay a new foundation under young families and their children. We have never defined what we want for, or from, the young among us who do not attend college. We wish them to be "educated"—but we cannot define what that means in practical terms. We hope they will become "employable"—yet the typical employment made available to non-college graduates in the emerging service economy too often supports a family only at the poverty level. We want them to be "good citizens"—but we do not weave them meaningfully into the fabric of our communities.

Long after it had become apparent that our schools were being overwhelmed by the changes of today's world, we continued to insist they could do it all. As the major institution in the lives of children outside the family, schools have been seen as the essential agency in creating success for the young. They *are* essential. But they are not sufficient. In every practical sense, we have made schooling a synonym for education. And we have defined the primary purpose of schooling as entry into college. Both attitudes are a mistake.

Restoring The Balance

We must remember that the purpose of all education is to create whole human beings and that schools and colleges are only one means of educating people for life. It is time we acted on our understanding that much learning takes place beyond the boundaries of schools—in youth groups, churches, volunteer activities, and, especially, on the job. As Willard Wirtz, former US Secretary of Labor, has observed in *The Boundless Resource:* "There aren't two worlds—education and work—one for youth, the other for maturity. There is one world—life." Indeed, "experiential" learning, i.e., learning by hands-on participation, by trying, making errors, and gradually narrowing the margin between failure and success, should be at the heart of our educational perspective. Instead, the invaluable educational laboratories offered by community institutions—youth organizations, civic groups, and the workplace—are often overlooked, underfunded, and underutilized.

Our schools, moreover, have become distracted from their main mission. *Educators have become so preoccupied with those who go on to college that they have lost sight of those who do not. And more and more of the non-college-bound now fall between the cracks when they are in school, drop out, or graduate inadequately prepared for the requirements of the society and the workplace.*

The Commission supports making the opportunities—and the rewards—of higher education more widely available to many more youth. Current policies wisely commit funds to improve elementary and (to a lesser degree) secondary education. Society is also willing to invest substantial sums to support students interested in earning a college degree. But *there is a sharp disparity between what Americans do for college-bound youth and what they do for the Forgotten Half.*

- Each student enrolled in an institution of higher education can typically expect to receive a combined public and private subsidy of about $5,000 per academic year—for each of four years or more—through scholarships and grants,

subsidized and guaranteed loans, free or subsidized college tuition, and other forms of aid.

- Youth not going on to college are starved for support. Only about five percent of those eligible for federally-supported job training receive it, then usually for only about four months, at a level of $1,800 to $2,300 per student—not enough training to adequately prepare for a career or to overcome a prior lifetime of neglect and deprivation.

The plain fact is that about half our youth don't go to college. Some don't want to; their learning needs are not well met by the academic training that most colleges offer. Others have not had access to the encouragement, information, and financial assistance that makes college attendance (and, frequently, even high school completion) possible. Particularly in major urban centers, these young people are dropping out of high schools at rates that are not just alarming but catastrophic—for them and for the nation.

Non-college-bound youth who complete high school have been saddled with the thoughtless expectation that they will readily "find their place" and need not be of further concern to the larger society. Whether they graduate from high school *or* drop out, these youth are often unprepared to take their places as responsible citizens, to start new families, or to work in anything but the most menial, dead-end jobs.

The loss of the Forgotten Half's potential is unfair to them and wasteful to the nation. Yet, we allow it. In doing so, we violate the sense of fairness that is the cornerstone of America's social compact with its citizens. Equity and common sense demand that we must act now to create responsible policies—in the private and nonprofit sectors and at the local, state, and national levels—to regain this vital half of our nation's store of young talent.

The Responsible Forgotten Half

What are the Forgotten Half really like? Most of them, like earlier generations of Americans, are resilient and resourceful. They set goals and find a way to realize them. Like many adults, they sometimes lose their sense of direction. Fortunately, high percentages find their way back to the road ahead:

- More students are staying in school longer, earning both high school diplomas and college degrees. By age 25, approximately 86 percent of our young people have earned a diploma or the GED equivalent.
- 82.4 percent of 20-24-year-olds are in the workforce—although far too many are employed and underemployed in part-time, low-paying jobs which cannot adequately support a family.
- At least one-third of all high school students responsibly hold part-time jobs in any given week, and fully three-quarters of all high school seniors work an average of 16-20 hours a week.
- Studies on teenagers and the varied experiences of communities—from Boston to Seattle, from Indianapolis to Memphis—verify that, when offered the opportunity for constructive participation in school and community life, young people volunteer their talents with enthusiasm.
- Young people also contribute at least 250 million hours of voluntary service to their communities each year through state, federal, and local community service programs.

Accomplishments like these challenge us to renew our commitment to young people as partners in America's future and to raise anew a fundamental question: *What can adults do to help these young people achieve the full blessings of their abilities and all they hope for in life?*

A New Perspective Needed

Unlocking the human potential of the Forgotten Half requires an essential ingredient, adult *respect*, which welcomes youth as companions in the search for solutions rather than as part of the problem.

Too often, we think of the Forgotten Half as failures, simply because they do not attend college. As their employment opportunities diminish, so do their other chances—for establishing families, for becoming responsible citizens, and for avoiding poverty. This report makes many suggestions about the role non-college youth can play in our nation's future; it also recommends many specific actions we can take to help them achieve their real potential. But these ideas will remain only empty gestures unless we, as adults, genuinely hold the Forgotten Half in high regard and believe in their ability to succeed. *It is not simply the mechanisms and the resources we bring to the aid of 20 million of our youth that finally count, but also the vision we have of them and their future.*

Adult respect for their accomplishments makes it possible for young people to dream. Adult attention to young people's needs provides practical ways to make those dreams come true.

The Commission's perspective is straightforward: As partners in today's world, and shapers of tomorrow's, young people deserve our respect, as well as greater attention to their most pressing needs. The Forgotten Half particularly deserves greater public and private investments in its future—investments that will benefit all Americans.

Grounded in this perspective, several principles guide our Commission's programmatic thinking:

- *The major task at hand is to examine, evaluate, adapt, and extend what already works.* Countless communities have developed promising, local strategies to support young people and their families and to provide opportunities for service, education, employment, and training. There is no need to reinvent the wheel.
- *Consolidation of existing delivery systems is long overdue.* Much of what we need is already in place. But it is scattered, fragmented, and disconnected. We need mechanisms to consolidate these programs, particularly for those in greatest need.
- *Targeted efforts are needed for many youth with special problems*: those with disabilities; rural youth; those in foster care, or who have run away from home; and "the truly disadvantaged," who bear the burden of an environment without hope in the concentrated poverty that characterizes many neighborhoods in our largest cities.
- *It is never too late to make a difference.* Although prevention and early intervention efforts are the least expensive and most effective approaches to producing long-lasting results, effective intervention strategies can work at any age. For those with the most pervasive difficulties, continuous support from home, community, and school may be required from childhood into early adulthood.

Recommendations: Pathways To Success

Based on these principles, this report suggests *four major strategies* to help young people in the Forgotten Half regain hope for the future and make a successful entry into the adult world: (1) enhance the quality of youth-adult relationships, both in and out of the family; (2) expand community supports, with an emphasis on youth service and youth leadership activities, to help integrate all young people into their communities and the nation; (3) extend and improve current employment opportunities for more non-college-bound youth; and (4) take a long stride toward more equitable youth education and training policies with a proposed new **Fair Chance: Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act.**

ENHANCE THE QUALITY OF YOUTH-ADULT RELATIONSHIPS

Young people *want* adult support. The majority of young people cite parents or other adults as the first source of advice for troubling personal problems related to alcohol, substance abuse, and their own sexuality. They consistently point to parents as the most influential adults in their lives. "Just talking" is the activity they most want to share with adults.

But today's families are changing dramatically. As of 1987, over half of all mothers with children under six and nearly 70 percent of mothers with children between six and 17 were working or looking for work. Nearly 15 million children and youth live in single-parent homes; almost 2.5 million children under 13 are unsupervised during a part of the day; the competing demands of home and work are a major difficulty for working parents; and only half of all custodial mothers receive full payment of court-ordered support, with one-quarter receiving nothing at all.

In a time when the family as an institution is under siege, and when only 40 percent of young people born in the US can expect to spend their entire childhood living with both biological parents, how can we strengthen youth-adult bonds?

Families bear the primary obligation to care for their children and to help them become healthy, contributing citizens. Other institutions, however, including employers, schools, and governments, can do much more to enable families accommodate to a rapidly changing world.

We recommend consideration of greater public support to ease the financial burden of raising children and adolescents and enhanced private sector understanding of the demands of family life. In particular, we suggest business

and school practice that is more responsive to working parents, and greater community support to strengthen relationships between young people, their parents, and other adults.

Several practical steps, discussed in the full report, can make this recommendation a reality:

- Broad-based consideration of the pros and cons of various tax policies to support families, including an increased personal exemption and expanded Earned Income Tax and Childcare Tax credits.
- Expanded workplace policies—such as flextime, parental leave, compensatory time, and childcare supports—that recognize the parental responsibilities of both men and women employees to older children and adolescents, as well as preschoolers. Corporate policies on childcare, leave, work hours, transfers and relocation, job sharing, and other family-oriented policies can be summarized in handbooks, made available to new employees, and regularly renegotiated with worker organizations.
- Vigorous state implementation of the 1984 amendments to the Child Support Enforcement Act, reevaluation of welfare policies that inadvertently discourage legal paternity, and greater acceptance of non-cash contributions, including childcare and participation in education and training programs, as legitimate ways for young fathers to meet parental obligations.
- Expanded fatherhood programs, particularly those that combine training opportunities, parent education, and family planning education.
- Enhanced parent involvement through school efforts to cultivate new forms of parent participation better suited to working parents and to establish policies ensuring that parent-teacher planning is periodically reviewed and updated.
- Aggressive private and public sector support of efforts by youth organizations, religious, and civic groups to fill the gap in after-school care for older children and adolescents with safe and stimulating programs.
- Mentoring programs in schools, churches, community agencies, and the workplace that involve young people in ongoing relationships with adults based on shared purpose and mutual interest.

EXPAND COMMUNITY SUPPORTS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE TO ALL YOUNG PEOPLE

When young people are asked to channel their idealism and energy into helping solve local problems, they build respect for themselves and acquire a stake in their community. When communities respond to young people with appreciation for their ideas and with resources for their development, young people feel both cared for and willing to care about others.

Community-Based Activities

We recommend that our schools and communities create and revitalize community-based activities that concentrate on the developmental needs of youth, respond to young people's opinions and ideas, and involve youth in the planning and implementation of programs that serve them. To construct new pathways in communities for young people's successful participation, it is imperative that we:

- Involve youth in local governance activities and in setting and carrying out local youth agendas through appropriate participation on school boards and on other governmental and voluntary sector advisory boards.
- Include youth in local crime prevention activities, in projects to clean up communities, and in services concerned with community safety. Law-related education and mediation training can be a significant part of school curricula and the activities of youth organizations.
- Encourage schools, communities, employers, and youth-serving agencies to consider developing their own codes and credos, accompanied by appropriate ceremonies, as an important part of developing a sense of civic responsibility.

Service Opportunities

At the core of citizenship is individual commitment to contribute to the common good. Helping all youth to incorporate community service as a part of their educational growth and an ongoing part of their adult life has powerful implications for work, schools, and communities. If all segments of the youth population are to

have an opportunity for effective participation in youth service, public and private sector support is required.

We recommend that schools and communities establish attractive service opportunities and make them available to all young people. To institute and emphasize the value of youth service, several efforts appear to be essential:

- ***Either*** promote service opportunities for *all students* as an integral part of the ongoing curriculum and make those opportunities eligible for elective credit, ***or*** require a specified amount of community service as a requirement for graduation.
- Increase support from business, local foundations, and city and state resources to ensure that diverse service opportunities are available to all youth.
- Sanction and expand the youth corps concept, which incorporates job readiness, education, and other training activities as part of both human services and environmental work, and enact legislation to provide federal assistance to launch more state and local youth service programs.
- Revitalize existing national service programs, such as VISTA and the Peace Corps.
- Build a network of existing private sector organizations interested in expanding opportunities for youth service at the state and local levels into a single, nationwide youth service federation.

Youth Organizations

By the same token, the Commission believes that successful efforts on behalf of our youth will last only if those in positions of authority and influence at both the local and national levels give sustained and coordinated support to youth organizations. Voluntary, privately-supported youth organizations make a substantial contribution to more comprehensive services for young Americans. Yet their expertise is often overlooked. We believe that renewed relationships of cooperation and collaboration among school and family service organizations can open new pathways of participation, education, and service for all our youth. Foundations, churches, community centers, voluntary organizations, cultural and recreational organizations, unions, and the service delivery arms of local and state government all have a substantial role to play.

We recommend that public and private leaders cooperate to tap the great potential of the many national and community-based youth organizations for improving the lives of youth and young families.

Specifically, we urge a program of action that includes the following elements:

- Foundation and/or public funding to support a comprehensive examination of the state of the nation's youth-serving agencies, with a view toward learning what can be done to strengthen their critical mission and to define specific areas of cooperation.
- Training in youth work in both undergraduate and graduate degree programs in social work, education, and other human services professions.

Coordinated Community Services

In addition, well-defined efforts to minimize bureaucratic red-tape, ensure adequate staffing, provide timely evaluations, and locate services as close as possible to those in need are pivotal components of comprehensive service delivery. Long-term efforts require careful planning, periodic assessment, and creative financing mechanisms to sustain programs for families and young people.

We recommend that communities, through public and private cooperation, develop comprehensive and coordinated systems to ensure that all young people and their families have access to a full array of developmental, preventive, and remedial services.

Among the particularly promising state and local approaches to be encouraged are:

- Developing accurate profiles of local youth needs that can be used locally by initiating or updating "State of the Child" reports or similar planning guides for states and large jurisdictions within them.
- Experimenting with innovative financing mechanisms, including trust funds, bonds, and special levies, to meet young people's developmental needs, offer preventive services, and respond to specific problems.
- Renewing attention to the community education movement, particularly to the concept of the lighted schoolhouse, which would open libraries, playgrounds, recreational facilities, and schools to the community seven days a week, 12 months of the year.

- Instituting local youth coordinating boards that include youth members and integrate services across communities and that are based, at least in part, on youth's perceptions of what is needed to build more responsive communities.

Targeted Needs

The Commission recognizes that specific groups of our youth require focused attention and special support so that they can achieve a maximum level of participation in community life. In this report, we target those youth with disabilities, those in foster care or who have run away from home, rural youth, and the "truly disadvantaged" of our central cities. *The solutions to the problems experienced by these groups—indeed, the best resolution of the problems of all youth—are most effective when they begin with the vigilant support of a concerned family. Therefore, the Commission emphasizes efforts that attempt to strengthen rather than diminish the capacity of families to help adolescents with special needs.* Accordingly, we recommend:

- Widespread community adoption of intensive family preservation models that provide services and individualized long-term case management to help maintain families, protect children, and reduce the need for out-of-home foster care.
- When family preservation is not possible, addressing the problems of out-of-home youth, including runaways, foster children, institutionalized status offenders, and victims of child abuse with appropriate use of community-based homes, foster care arrangements, independent living programs, counseling and support services, and crisis centers.
- As an irreducible minimum for youth with disabilities, full compliance and enforcement of legislation and regulations regarding non-discrimination and accessibility.
- The increased use of adults with disabilities as role models and mentors, broad support of independent living programs, incentives for employers to hire the disabled, and restructured benefit packages to eliminate disincentives to employment.
- Foundation and federal support for rural economic development, in combination with universities, extension services, and individual communities, to build the economic infrastructure needed to provide employment opportunities, improved and expanded social service delivery, and a better life for America's rural youth.

Only concerted public action at all levels of government, reinforced by strong private sector support, can break the cycle of extreme disadvantage in which a small, but growing, fraction of the Forgotten Half are caught. Such programs, setting the individual in the context of the family and the family in the context of the community, should offer a broad spectrum of services, concentrating on circumventing bureaucratic barriers, and provide reasonable discretion in meeting client needs. We recommend:

- Comprehensive, flexible, and coordinated services beginning early in life, including family planning, prenatal health care, family counseling, nutritional services, childcare, early childhood education, and health education.
- Individualized services simultaneously delivered to all members of at-risk families, including flexible educational opportunities, improved counseling, one-to-one relationships with adults, incentives to keep youth in school, and transitional programs to help bridge the gap between school and work.
- Multiple added-chance opportunities for education, training, and employment, including transitional income and support services specifically targeted to the most disadvantaged.

EXTEND AND IMPROVE EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES

Work is the backbone of an individual's life, providing the underpinning for a respected place in the adult world. Likewise, a productive economy with a qualified, well-trained workforce is the marrow that sustains a country and its citizens. America's future prosperity depends on the energy, flexibility, and creativity of an able workforce. *If our young people have a responsibility to prepare themselves well for the demands of work and adulthood in the*

21st century—and we believe they do—policymakers, employers, and community leaders have a corresponding obligation. We must concern ourselves with not just the quantity but with the quality of employment opportunities for our young people. The half of our youth who do not go on to college have a right to be able to compete for jobs that are adequate in numbers, that offer reasonable wage levels, that provide health insurance and other essential benefits, and that offer career advancement in return for diligence and competence.

We recommend that state and national leaders act to encourage local government, business associations, and employers to expand education, training, and employment opportunities.

We point, in particular, to promising local "compacts," in which communities, employers, and schools cooperate to create community contracts under which educational accomplishment is rewarded with better employment opportunities and support for postsecondary education and training. To accomplish these education, training, and employment goals for the Forgotten Half, we recommend:

- That states and communities consider the creation of local compacts—alliances of business, education, and community resources—to set concrete and measurable standards for student achievement, to develop programs to meet them, and to reward accomplishment with career-level employment and advanced education.
- That the public and private sectors give continuing attention to workable approaches to ease the passage from school to work, including cooperative education, internship, apprenticeship, and other forms of hands-on, experiential learning. Tested and proven apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs can be expanded by a joint effort of the US Department of Labor and Department of Education to encourage partnership efforts by states, employers, unions, and business associations.
- That communities consider the development of local education funds or foundations to provide grants to improve the quality of the public schools, broaden their constituency, and create school/business partnerships.
- That government leaders at all levels explore incentives for business to expand employment and training, including reexamining targeted jobs tax credits and using private employment and training opportunities in exchange for public subsidies—tax abatements, favorable business loans, and zoning ordinances—to encourage economic development and job creation in areas with high rates of unemployment.
- That employers develop alternative hiring criteria—e.g., a performance test or trial employment period in lieu of a paper credential like a high school diploma—to identify more fairly the full range of promising job candidates.

FAIR CHANCE: BETTER YOUTH EDUCATION AND TRAINING POLICIES

In its Interim Report, this Commission recommended a Federal investment of an additional $5 billion annually for each of the next ten years to bolster effective existing programs: Head Start, Chapter 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Job Corps, and the Job Training Partnership Act, for example. These programs represent over 20 years of local-state-federal partnership in crafting effective responses to poverty, illiteracy, and despair. They are investments paying rich dividends to the American taxpayer.

If the Forgotten Half are fully to take their own place in American life, we must build on the success of existing programs and establish forceful policy objectives that: (1) broaden student access to the resources they need to "make it," and (2) establish effective coordinating mechanisms for the application of those resources. In short, the challenge is for government at all levels to bring together the diverse initiatives discussed in this report into a cohesive whole for employment preparation and education and training in school and beyond.

Aggressive outreach and recruitment, careful assessment of ability and potential, remedial education where necessary, strong peer support, counseling, flexible training options, and active job placement are all required. Above all, we need greater state and local experimentation from which we can learn and commitment on which we can build.

We propose specific legislation, entitled* Fair Chance: Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act, *to stimulate the development of an integrated approach to the education, training, and service needs of all youth. This recommendation is for a state-administered national demonstration designed to increase access to post-high school education and training through financial aid, counseling, and academic support.

To succeed with Fair Chance, we offer these recommendations for implementation:

- We call for an annual expenditure of $250 million for five years to support demonstration grants awarded to consortia in each state of educational institutions, local governments, and other public and non-profit organizations, for post/secondary and higher education programs for youth.
- Funds would be used to provide financial access and support services to guarantee education and training to every youth in demonstration grant target areas who can profit from further study and job preparation.
- Demonstration grants would provide universality of coverage and equality of access by being broad enough to support any or all of the following: studies leading to an undergraduate degree; vocational or career training leading to a certificate or diploma; training, remediation, and counseling designed primarily for the unemployed or underemployed.
- Grant applicants would be required to provide evidence that they can "saturate" a given target area; that they have appropriate outreach and motivational mechanisms in place; that they can operate a "case management system" to enhance retention and provide individual attention; and that they have in place a cooperative agreement for coordinating service delivery. Independent evaluation of their efforts is also required.

An End And A Beginning

With this report and its predecessor, Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship has met its charge: the examination of what both research and experience can tell us about helping our youth to mature as family members, workers, and citizens. A second and equally important task remains.

The challenge before us all is seeing the members of the Forgotten Half in a new light, one that recognizes their strengths, respects their diversity, and challenges their talents. Without such a vision, we run the risk of pitting one half of our youth against the other. Such a prospect 2a nation divided between the educated and prosperous and the less educated and struggling—represents too great a risk for America's future.

In the search for pathways to success, this report is rooted in the experience of the Forgotten Half and moves outward to schools, private agencies, employers, and government at all levels—the linkages to the larger society. Families, communities, and work are the arenas in which the Forgotten Half will find the true meaning of their lives. Doing better for our young people because it is the right thing to do is more than simply a civic obligation. It is essential to our common present and to our hopes for the future. Unless we are motivated, at least in part, by our sense of mutual obligation to each other, we risk losing more than we can ever hope to win.

This Commission has seen its role as calling attention to a new vision, one that connects individuals and their families to their work and communities, and to the nation. The history of America has been founded on a path of opportunity; the future of America depends on our ability, not only to maintain the roads we have built, but to pave new pathways for the tremendous varieties of people who call America home. We have made but a start. The new task for everyone is to refine that vision, reaffirm its significance, and put it within the reach of all our youth.

INTRODUCTION

This report concludes our study of the Forgotten Half—the approximately 20 million 16-24-year-olds who are unlikely to attend college and so will miss out on the special privileges our society accords to the college-educated. As our January 1988 Interim Report states, young people in the Forgotten Half are not a monolithic group, overcome by drugs, crime, teenage pregnancy, and alienated from adults. Rather than a "generation on the skids," they are a widely diverse group of young men and women, most of whom are high school graduates. With a diploma or without, they aspire to a job, a family, and a place in the community they can be proud of.

Once upon a time, hard work, native intelligence, and honest labor were enough to attain that dream. But our highly competitive, global, and technological society places a high premium on educational attainment. Those with less education must scramble for good jobs in a sea of part-time, low-paying, limited-future employment opportunities. The widely heralded increase in good job opportunities in recent years has still largely bypassed the young men and women of the Forgotten Half.

While taxpayers, private donors, and parents gladly contribute to offset the more than $10,000 annual cost of sending a student to college, and point with pride to a $124 billion current national investment in higher education, no similar commitment spurs an equal investment in non-college-bound youth. Most of those with only a high school education or less are expected to make it on their own in an economy in which earnings of 20-24-year-old male high school graduates were 28.2 percent less in constant dollars in 1986 than in 1973 and in which the rate of poverty among families headed by a person under age 25 had more than doubled over those years. The declining fortunes of America's young people, particularly as they affect the formation of families, are further chronicled in this Final Report.

By underestimating their need for help in finding and succeeding in a job with a future, as well as their desire and capacity to participate in community life, we have shortchanged our youth and, in the process, our country. Our Interim Report draws on ample research and practical knowledge about what works to improve the economic prospects of American youth and sets out a series of recommendations to improve employment and earning levels, especially those of the Forgotten Half. These include a better first chance for young people to succeed in school, regardless of their learning styles; a much enhanced and more systematic provision of "second or added-chance" opportunities for dropouts and school graduates with inadequate skills; and a variety of proposals to bridge the gap from school to work, including monitored work experiences, community and neighborhood service that builds job skills and social values, redirected vocational education, career information and counseling, and more emphasis on various forms of on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs.

Our Interim Report, entitled **The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America**, stresses the Commission's belief that state and local governments, private agencies, employers, churches, and individuals must act as young people's first line of support. Strong, rather than waning, federal support of well-tested programs must also buttress local initiative. The report calls for increased investments to extend several exceptionally effective, but badly underfunded, national programs: Head Start and Chapter 1 to prevent educational deficits before they occur, and the Job Corps and a strengthened Job Training Partnership Act to provide alternative educational opportunities and employment training.

The Commission's Final Report reaches beyond the boundaries of school and work into the families and communities where young people learn the lessons—and dreams—of adulthood. We outline the profound social and economic changes that have altered the shape and sometimes challenged the effectiveness of our two central social institutions, family and community. **The Forgotten Half: Pathways to Success for America's Youth and Young Families** features not only diagnoses for treating youth in trouble but prescriptions to foster the healthy development of all youth and to prevent trouble from occurring. It describes the pathways to success that families and communities—with adequate help from both the public and private sector, including employers—can offer to young people.

The pathways we describe begin with our conviction that all young people—even those burdened by poverty, challenged by disability, or isolated in other ways—want to succeed and have a great deal to offer to others. But adults must do more to communicate this confidence and to provide expanded opportunities that tap the full measure of American youth's energy and hopefulness. Young people become competent when adults encourage them to try, allow them to fail, and help them to try again; they become leaders when adults share their leadership opportunities with them. The best pathways to success are those in which young people work together with adults to reach common goals at home and in one-to-one and group relationships with other adults in a wide variety of community activities, youth organizations, and through community service and leadership training.

Our second conviction is that while the most cost-effective—and certainly the most responsible—social policy acts to prevent youth problems before they occur, *it is never too late to make a positive difference in the lives of young people.*

> *Adolescents in trouble can be effectively helped to make a successful transition to adulthood. Many need skills training, coupled with intensive health, mental health, and other supportive services, interventions that are scandalously underfunded, even though we now know they are effective. There is no excuse for neglecting these youngsters, even after they have gotten into trouble. But we must recognize that earlier help would have been better. The more long-standing the neglect, deprivation, and failure, the more difficult and costly the remedies.*[1]

Much is known through program evaluation about what can be done to enhance youth's success. We emphasize the importance of building on this knowledge. We do not know everything we'd like to know about what works, but there is much creative activity in the country that needs to be better understood, evaluated, and adapted to local needs and preferences. We cite some programs that are not yet rigorously evaluated but do not endorse them as the best such programs available. Instead, we include them as interesting examples of state and local initiatives and as hopeful efforts for states, communities, and employers to explore. They illustrate the kind of pragmatic policies, programs, and practices that the Commission views as worthy of wider discussion around the nation.

Massive recent changes in our economy and the technology that supports it have inevitably affected today's young people. **Pathways to Success** continues the Interim Report's discussion of what employers, local leaders, and organizations can do to help young people train for better careers through apprenticeship and career-based mentoring programs, and in expanded

[1] Lisbeth B. Schorr with Daniel Schorr. *Within Our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage*. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1988, p. xxvii.

> ***The pathways that we endorse are not guarantees—only much-needed efforts to achieve a more equitable balance in the Forgotten Half's odds for success.***

supported-work and on-the-job training programs. We recognize that jobs at the low-skill end of America's booming service industry are growing faster than more highly skilled positions that offer a living wage and the promise of a future. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, for example, estimates that American employers will soon need 13 times as many new cashiers as computer programmers. Education and training, even if as flexible and comprehensive as we suggest, cannot transform our economy into one which offers *only* highly paid and secure careers. But such opportunities can enable millions of young people to prepare themselves for more responsible and remunerative work and to compete fairly with others for the best jobs possible. State and local governments can boost these efforts while the federal government assumes a more vigorous leadership role.

The pathways that we endorse are not guarantees—only much-needed efforts to achieve a more equitable balance in the Forgotten Half's odds for success. As this report documents, they have already been ignored repeatedly. Unless we alter the way we think about, and respond to, this substantial portion of America's future, we will further undermine them and ourselves. With better education and employment opportunities, increased family and community supports, and with greater adult recognition of their willingness and capacity to contribute, many more young members of the Forgotten Half will join the remembered half in enjoying the benefits of an America they have helped to create.

The Commission's work has been aided by the preparation of working papers by authors selected for their expertise in some aspect of youth affairs. In these working papers, the authors review available research, explore major issues, and make recommendations for policy and future research in particular areas of concern. They bring to Commission members the current thinking of able analysts of youth issues. An added feature of the working papers has been their submission to independent readers whose short commentaries help to sharpen the issues and ensure a balanced perspective.

Information Papers on selected topics have also been prepared for the Commission. Their purpose is to assemble currently available factual information into organized reference tools. A complete listing of the Commission's publications is included at the end of this report.

> *Working more to take home less is not a measure of social or economic progress in American society.*
>
> — Andrew Sum, Northeastern University

Chapter 1

The Declining Economic Status of Youth and Young Families

In our January 1988 Interim Report, we called attention to the Forgotten Half, those 20 million 16-24-year-olds who are not likely to attend college and whose economic prospects have greatly dimmed in recent years. As their inflation-adjusted incomes plunged, their overall poverty rate also doubled.[1] This Final Report examines the consequences of that erosion on their ability to form stable families and to become constructive participants in their communities. In short, the situation is bleak. In proportions far greater than most Americans are prepared to accept, the families and children of the Forgotten Half are families nearing the edge.

In other eras, early struggles were a predictable—even necessary—part of any family's life cycle—a way of paying the dues that somehow made life's later financial rewards seem that much better earned. *Today's young families, however, are starting far behind the generation that preceded them, and many will never know the economic opportunities that their parents experienced.* As the following data describe, recent economic, technological, and social changes have considerably altered the prospects of today's 16-24-year-olds, especially those who are not college educated and, by extension, the families who rely on their earnings. More families of the Forgotten Half are poor, and many others are scraping by, with only a narrow margin for error. Illness, unemployment, an unexpected child, or a rent hike can spell disaster—not just in the near term but for the foreseeable future. Even if real wages begin to increase, those without advanced education and skills will have a hard time catching up.

More than any other group in America, most young people without a college education have watched their economic prospects decline in recent years. Regardless of their race or ethnic background, most such youth and young families are earning less than their predecessors 15 years ago and are falling further behind older groups of Americans. It is becoming increasingly difficult for young men and women to find jobs that provide an income adequate to support a family. *This pattern of declining economic status and diminished opportunities persists for these young people even in areas of the country with robust economies, below-average unemployment, high wage structures, and smaller numbers of young workers.* These are not problems created by the young, nor are they problems that time alone will solve. If we are to fashion wise and effective policies and practices for helping our young people to be successful, we first need to understand what has been happening in the economic system in which they hope to participate.

The Young Family: Facts and Figures

The American Dream of ever-increasing purchasing power ended in 1973. From then until 1986, the inflation-adjusted median annual income of American families hardly changed. Indeed, overall, it was nearly $300

less in 1986. This stagnation in real family income stands in sharp contrast to the gains of 1947-73 when real median family earnings grew over three percent annually and thus doubled in purchasing power.[3]

> ***Younger families just starting out are particularly at risk. Given current trends, young men and women can expect to earn an average of 25 percent less throughout their lifetimes than the generation 10 years earlier—a reversal of the American dream.***[2]

During the past 15 years, America's youth and young families have borne the brunt of economic slumps and have seen their incomes plummet, in constant dollars, during successive economic downturns. After each economic recovery from a series of back-to-back recessions, young male workers' real, inflation-adjusted earnings never returned to 1973 levels. As a result, the earnings of all male subgroups who comprise the Forgotten Half have dropped sharply. While the median, before-tax income of all families has been stagnant for 13 years, major gains were recorded by household heads aged 65 or older (up 25.9 percent). In sharp contrast, *the median income of households headed by persons under age 25 declined 26.3 percent between 1973 and 1986 (in 1986 constant dollars), from $20,229 to $14,900.*[4] *If we recall that the drop in personal income during the Great Depression from 1929 to 1933 was 27 percent, we can better grasp the extent of the "New Depression" being experienced by America's young families today.*

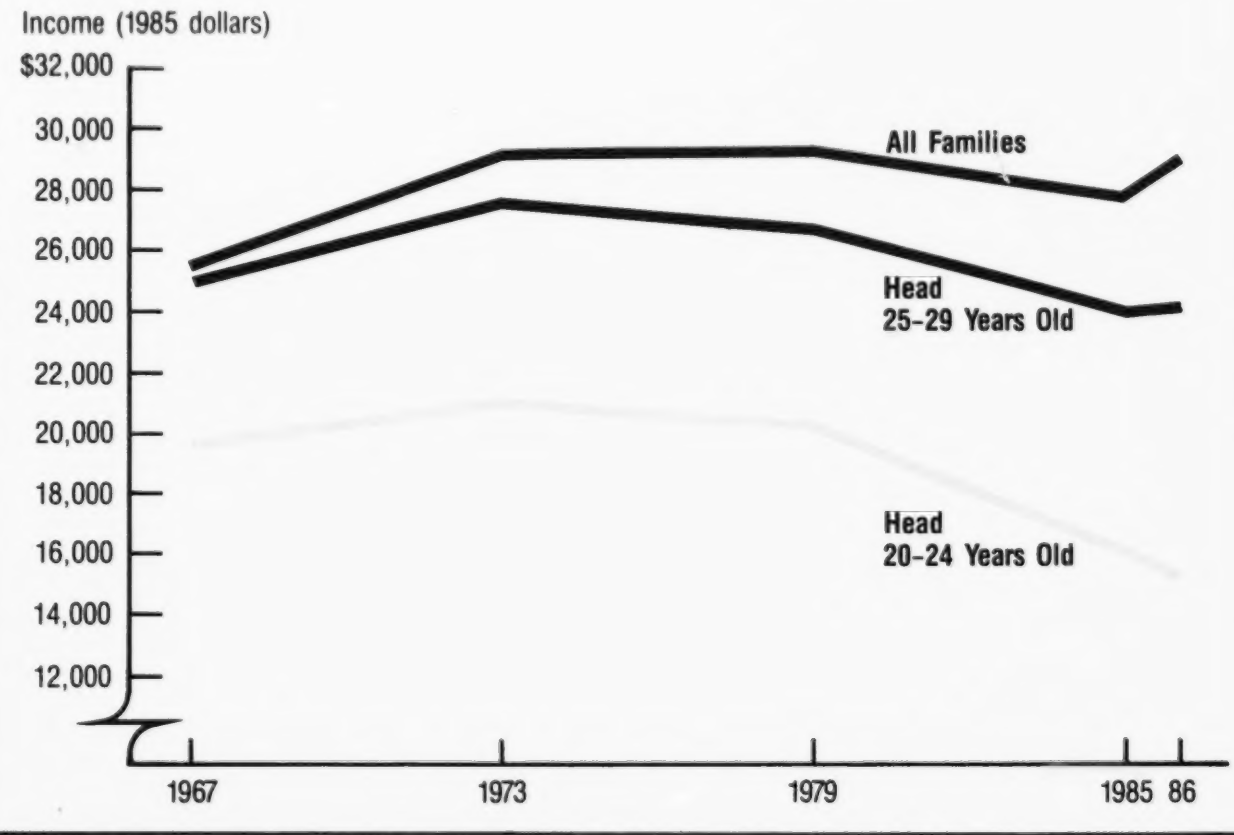
While economic analyses differ in many details, there is a growing consensus that this squeeze on family earnings is the composite result of complex factors: (1) the loss of highly-paid manufacturing jobs that has forced young, entry-level workers into the rapidly growing, but much lower-paying trade or service positions; (2) slowed productivity and growth attributable to outmoded plant and equipment, reduced capital outlays per worker, poor management, poor worker performance, or a combination of all four; (3) a general reduction of real compensation through cuts in wages and benefits, the reduction of unionized employment, the growing use of part-time employees, and similar measures; (4) a weakened US dollar that raises the cost of most imports; (5) huge foreign trade deficits that have converted the US into a borrower nation and now require the payment of rents, dividends, and interest on foreign-owned assets in the US, thereby reducing the resources available to raise Americans' living standards; and (6) the startling rise of female-headed families, especially never-married mothers, whose earning ability is severely restricted and who, without the benefits of a dual-earner household, cannot often attain middle-class status in American society. In this economic environment of intense global competition, the availability of well-paid—but relatively low-skill— jobs is declining. Jobs at both the low and high ends of the wage scale are increasing: lower-paid, low-skill jobs on one end and professional, technical, and managerial jobs at the upper end of the income scale.[5]

To understand the growth of young families and children in great distress, we need to study a great many variables—economic, social, cultural, moral—some domestic, some international in character. Our knowledge of most of these variables is uneven. However, recent analyses by former Ford Foundation human resources expert Gordon Berlin, economist Andrew Sum, and Children's Defense Fund employment and training expert Clifford Johnson shed light on the key interconnections.[6] They show that changes in the structure of the urban economy and the decline in the growth of real wages since 1973 have magnified inner-city economic dislocations and increased the

FROM 1973–86, YOUNG FAMILIES LOST OVER ONE-QUARTER OF THEIR REAL INCOME AND FARED FAR WORSE THAN ANY OTHER AGE GROUP

TABLE 1
Trends in Real Median Incomes of Families, 1967–86, by Age of Family Head
(in 1985 dollars)

Year	All Families	Head 25–29 Years Old	Head 20–24 Years Old
1967	$25,560	$25,132	$19,654
1973	29,175	27,551	20,821
1979	29,028	26,676	20,025
1985	27,735	24,000	16,000
1986	28,898	24,400	15,107
Percent Change			
1967–73	+14.1	+9.6	+5.9
1973–86	−1.0	−11.4	−27.4



incidence and concentration of poverty there. In addition, these changes help to explain the growth in the numbers of poor, single-parent families and the concentrations of impoverished children attending public schools. All these variables profoundly affect the educational attainment and basic skills levels of children who grow up in poverty. Lower basic academic skill and attainment levels, in turn, correlate strikingly with early parenthood and out-of-wedlock birth, dropping out of school, dependence on public assistance, unemployment, criminal arrest, and dire poverty.[7]

Paralleling this stagnation of living standards for most Americans and their marked decline for young families is a widening gap in earnings between rich and poor. Census Bureau figures show that, between 1969 and 1986, the highest-earning one-fifth of the American people saw their share of all incomes increase from 40.6 to 43.7 percent—the highest on record. At the same time, the poorest fifth of the population saw their limited share shrink from 5.6 to 4.6 percent of all incomes. That seemingly small decline of "only" one percent, calculates Joseph Minarik of the Urban Institute, totals $22.5 billion in lost income, or $1,750 less for every low-income family.[8]

Closer to this report's focus, however, these "national averages" mask a far greater deterioration in the economic position of America's young families. In 1986, the bottom fifth of young families received only 3.9 percent of the total income earned by young families, compared to 6.1 percent in 1973. In contrast, the top fifth of young families saw their income rise from 36.7 to 41.8 percent in the same 1973-86 period. *During the past 15 years, the real earnings of young, non-college-educated males have fallen sharply, the number and percentage of young families headed by a single parent have skyrocketed, and young families as a group have suffered the largest absolute and relative declines in real incomes of all American families. Indeed, poverty among young families — white as well as black and Hispanic and in married couples as well as single-parent families—far exceeds all other age groups. As Table 1 shows, the real median income for families headed by a 20-24-year-old in 1986 was 27 percent less than in 1973 and nearly one-fourth less than in 1967.* This stands in sharp contrast to all American families whose real median income dropped by $300, or about one percent, from 1973 to 1986. During the economic recovery of 1983-86, families headed by persons under age 25 were the only major age group to experience *no increase* in their real median income and no reduction in their poverty rate.

Closer study of the Census Bureau's annual reports on *Money, Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States* is even more revealing. Whereas the median income of families headed by 20-29-year-olds was equal to about 90 percent of the median income of all US families in 1967, that proportion had fallen below 75 percent in 1986. For families headed by 20-24-year-olds, the deterioration was far sharper—from 77 percent of all families' median income in 1967 to 52 percent in 1986. To quote labor economist Andrew Sum of Northeastern University, "the relative income position of the nation's youngest families has deteriorated fairly sharply and continuously over the past two decades (1967-1986)."

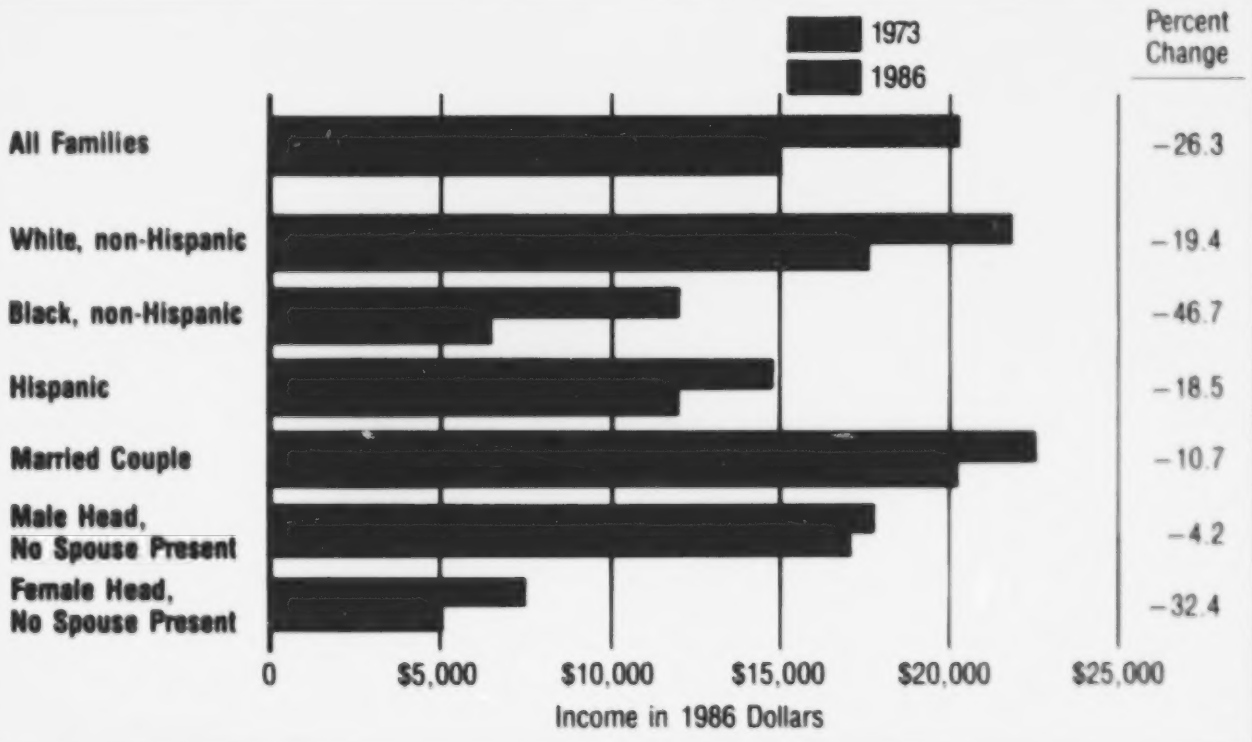
Moreover, as Table 2 shows, while the trend in real median income is down for all subgroups of young families headed by persons under age 25, there are enormous variations among the subgroups. Married couples lost 11 percent of their real incomes from 1973-1986 while female-headed families with no spouse present lost three times as much—32.4 percent. White families lost 19.4 percent; Hispanic families, 18.5 percent; and *young black families, particularly the growing number headed by a single parent, lost a whopping 46.7 percent of their peer's former purchasing power—almost two and one-half times the decline among young white or Hispanic families.*

Not all young families have lost ground, but many young families, including some college-educated couples, find it difficult to reach the living standards of their parents' generation. *Only when both partners work are most young families able to make financial ends meet, and, in an increasing number of cases, both spouses do work.* All too often, as we stressed in our Interim Report, the jobs that these young wage earners hold qualify them only to enlist in the ranks of the working poor. An ever larger share of what they earn goes to keep a roof over their heads. Their work, particularly when it is part-time in character, carries few essential employee benefits, especially health insurance. One serious illness and they may find themselves hopelessly mired in debt. And once the first child arrives, their ability to keep two wage earners in the labor market becomes problematic. Unless parents, relatives, or friends are available to help care for the infant, net income will take a nosedive—$3,000 in the first year of the

WHILE ALL YOUNG FAMILIES EARNED LESS, MINORITY- AND FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES FARED FAR WORSE

TABLE 2
Trends in the Real Median Incomes of Young Families, Headed by Persons 24-Years-old or Younger; by Type of Family and Race/Ethnic Origin of Family Householder, 1973–86
(in 1986 dollars)

Charactistics of Family Head	1973	1986	Percent Change 1973–86
All Families	$20,229	$14,900	–26.3
White, non-Hispanic	21,710	17,500	–19.4
Black, non-Hispanic	11,997	6,400	–46.7
Hispanic	14,610	11,900	–18.5
Married Couple	22,442	20,051	–10.7
Male Head, No Spouse Present	17,688	16,952	–4.2
Female Head, No Spouse Present	7,401	5,000	–32.4



child's life, $5-6,000 in each of the next two years,[9] as one or the other parent exchanges employment for home care of their child. Group childcare is often unavailable, too costly for young families to afford, or of dubious quality.

Making ends meet comes at considerable cost—to both the young families and to American society at large. Sacrificed to greater or lesser extent are leisure, further education, the option of bearing children early in marriage, time spent with children and extended family and friends, and participation in civic affairs. To make two-earner parenthood viable, many couples must assume the added costs of childcare, thereby making saving for a home and a secure future even more difficult. As Sum concludes: "*Working more to take home less is not a measure of social or economic progress in American society.*"

> ***One of the cruelest myths of contemporary American life is the claim that our economy is healthy because unemployment is relatively low. This assertion conveniently hides the radical job market changes of recent years, the dilemma of one-parent families, the growing number of working poor, as well as the large numbers of people who have simply stopped looking for work.***

Struggling to match the success of their parents' generation is difficult enough. For those who are fighting for survival, life can be an unrelieved nightmare. Many families of high school graduates and dropouts—America's Forgotten Half—are already in deep trouble. And, as the best available projections reveal, they may stay there indefinitely unless solutions to their worsening problems become available.

The Growth of Poverty Among Young Families

Poverty among all major age groups of American families (except those over age 65) was higher during the first half of the 1980s than in the early 1970s. But among America's youngest families, the growth of poverty far exceeded that of any other age group.

Between 1959 and 1973, the poverty rate among all families dropped more than 50 percent from 18.5 percent in 1959 to 8.8 percent in 1973.[10] But the 8.8 percent figure represents America's post-World War II low. From there, the rate climbed in stops and starts to 12.3 percent in 1983. As unemployment fell, and real family incomes rose again, the family poverty rate edged down to 10.9 percent in 1986, still one-quarter higher than its 1973 low.

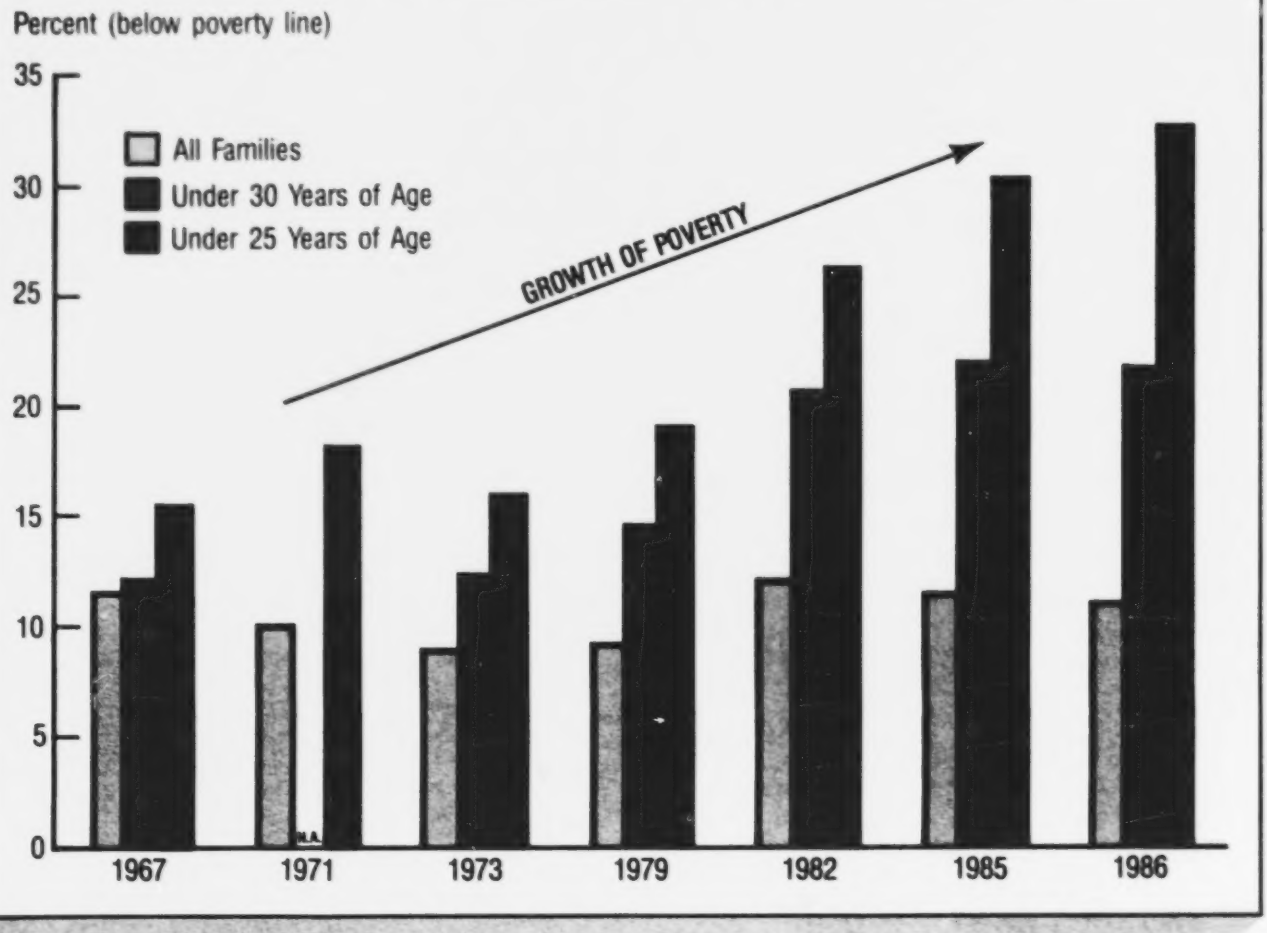
Looking at Table 3, *the 1986 poverty rate of 32.6 of every 100 families headed by a person under age 25 was more than double that of 1967 and almost triple* that of all American families in 1986. Despite several years of national recovery from the 1982 economic recession, America's youngest families not only had seen no improvement in their poverty status as of 1986 but hold the dubious distinction of being the *only* major age group to be unaffected by the current recovery. And, while real incomes were markedly higher for families headed by 25-29-year-olds, their 1986 poverty rate was still 66 percent higher than in 1967. Thus, *the economic plight of our young families is not "something that disappears with time and experience." Rather, while poverty rates may diminish, on the average, poor 20-24-year-olds as a group never make up their lost ground, nor do they automatically "grow out" of their problems.*

As grim as these poverty figures appear at first glance, the story behind the young family statistics is even worse. Young families not maintaining separate living quarters, but living with another family or household, are not classified by the Census Bureau as "primary families" and so are not

BETWEEN 1967 AND 1986, THE POVERTY RATE OF YOUNG FAMILIES ALMOST DOUBLED

TABLE 3
Primary Families With Income Below the Poverty Line, by Age of Family Head, 1967-86
(in percentages)

Year	All Families	Under 30 Years of Age	Under 25 Years of Age
1967	11.4	12.1	15.3
1971	10.0	N.A.	18.0
1973	8.8	12.3	15.8
1979	9.1	14.5	19.1
1982	12.2	20.6	26.1
1985	11.4	21.8	30.2
1986	10.9	21.6	32.6



reflected in the data above. Sum and his colleagues estimate that, in March 1987, there were 1.6 million such young "sub-families," or families within families, headed by a person age 18-29. Three-fourths were headed by women, nearly half by blacks or Hispanics. Overall, based on their own income situation, about two-thirds of these sub-families had below-poverty line income. Given the fact that many were living in a family with other relatives whose incomes are above the poverty line, only about 31 percent are included in the poverty count of all families. If these young sub-families were included in estimates of family poverty, based only on their own income, the total number of poor young families and sub-families would be 3.1 million, and the combined poverty rate of young families headed by a person under 29 would be 27.5 percent instead of 21.6 percent. *Conclusion: more than one of every four young families and sub-families lives below the poverty line. Among those headed by a person under age 25, over one-third live below the poverty line.*

Moreover, the relative situation of young families is worsening. In 1973, the poverty rate of families headed by a person under age 25 was 1.8 times higher than the rate for all families. In 1986, the poverty rate was nearly three times as great. (See Table 3.)

Despite a common misperception, poverty in young families is not restricted to America's ethnic and racial minorities. In families headed by a white person under age 25, the poverty rate more than doubled — from 10 percent in 1973 to 24 percent in 1986. Overall, black families were two and one-half times as likely as whites to be poor, their poverty rate rising from 44 to 62 percent. Clearly, young white families are not exempt from poverty; indeed, the *relative* increase in their poverty rate was 2.5 to 3 times greater than that of blacks and Hispanics.

The impact of family poverty upon America's children follows naturally. More than half (54 percent) of all children in America's youngest primary families (those with family heads under age 25) are poor, nearly doubling the 1973 rate of 29 percent. Although two-thirds of this growth has been in single-parent families, the growth of poverty has affected two-parent families as well. *Regardless of whether the family was white or black, the child poverty rate nearly doubled between 1973-86 for children born into young families.*

Poverty is, of course, particularly accentuated in the case of single-parent, usually female-headed, families. Lacking husbands' incomes, these families often face poverty and a period of reliance on public assistance. It takes little imagination to grasp how such outcomes will blight precisely those who are the objects of our study: America's youth and young families.

The Decline of Marriage Rates

Marriage rates are one place to start if we are to understand better the problems of stunted lives and costly burdens to society. Quite simply, young men and women who cannot earn a decent living are far less likely to marry and to build strong families with healthy children than those with more substantial earnings.

What has been the American experience with marriage rates? Overall, these rates have been cyclical: rising in the 1920s and after World War II, falling in the '30s and '60s. Since 1970, marriage rates in the aggregate have been steady.[11] But for young males, the pattern of marriage rates is strikingly different from the relative stability characterizing the general population. As Table 4 demonstrates, *the proportion of all 20-24-year-old males who were married and living with their spouses fell from 39.1 to 21.3 percent from 1974 to 1986.* Moreover, this nearly 50 percent decline occurred among *all* major subgroups, regardless of educational level, race, or ethnic origin. Blacks, Hispanics, and those with the least formal schooling were typically hardest hit, with black marriage rates falling by as much as two-thirds. The rate for black high school dropouts, for example, fell from almost 25 percent to less than eight percent in this same period.

Why have marriage rates among our youth fallen so sharply, particularly among those young men with 12 or fewer years of schooling, half of whom would have been married by age 22 if we looked at the same population in 1974? With Sum and his colleagues, we recognize that powerful and multiple economic, sociological, demographic, and cultural forces are at work. For one, American youth spend more years in formal schooling than ever before, and most tend to postpone marriage until well after completion of their studies.

The median age at first marriage has risen by more than three years since the late 1950s for both men and women. In 1987, the median for women was 23.6 years, the highest level ever recorded, and the median for men was 25.8, the highest since the turn of the century.

Women's massive entry into the labor force offers another possible explanation for the decline of marriage rates. In 1960, only 46 percent of 20-24-year-old women were in the

TABLE 4

Marriage Rates of 20-24-Year-Old Males, by Race/Ethnic Group and Years of Schooling Completed March 1974, March 1980, and March 1986

(in percentages)

Demographic Subgroup	1974	1980	1986
All	39.1	28.0	21.3
Race/Ethnic Group			
White, non-Hispanic	40.3	29.2	23.2
Black, non-Hispanic	29.3	17.1	10.8
Hispanic	43.8	35.5	24.0
Years of Schooling Completed			
11 or less	48.7	36.5	26.7
12	48.8	35.0	28.1
13-15	37.1	27.0	21.4
16 or more	43.4	29.1	17.4
White, non-Hispanic Only			
11 or less	56.7	41.3	29.9
12	49.9	36.8	30.8
13-15	38.2	27.8	23.0
16 or more	45.0	28.7	17.8
Black, non-Hispanic Only			
11 or less	24.4	16.8	7.9
12	40.1	20.6	15.4
13-15	29.3	21.5	12.6
16 or more	28.1	38.3	17.0

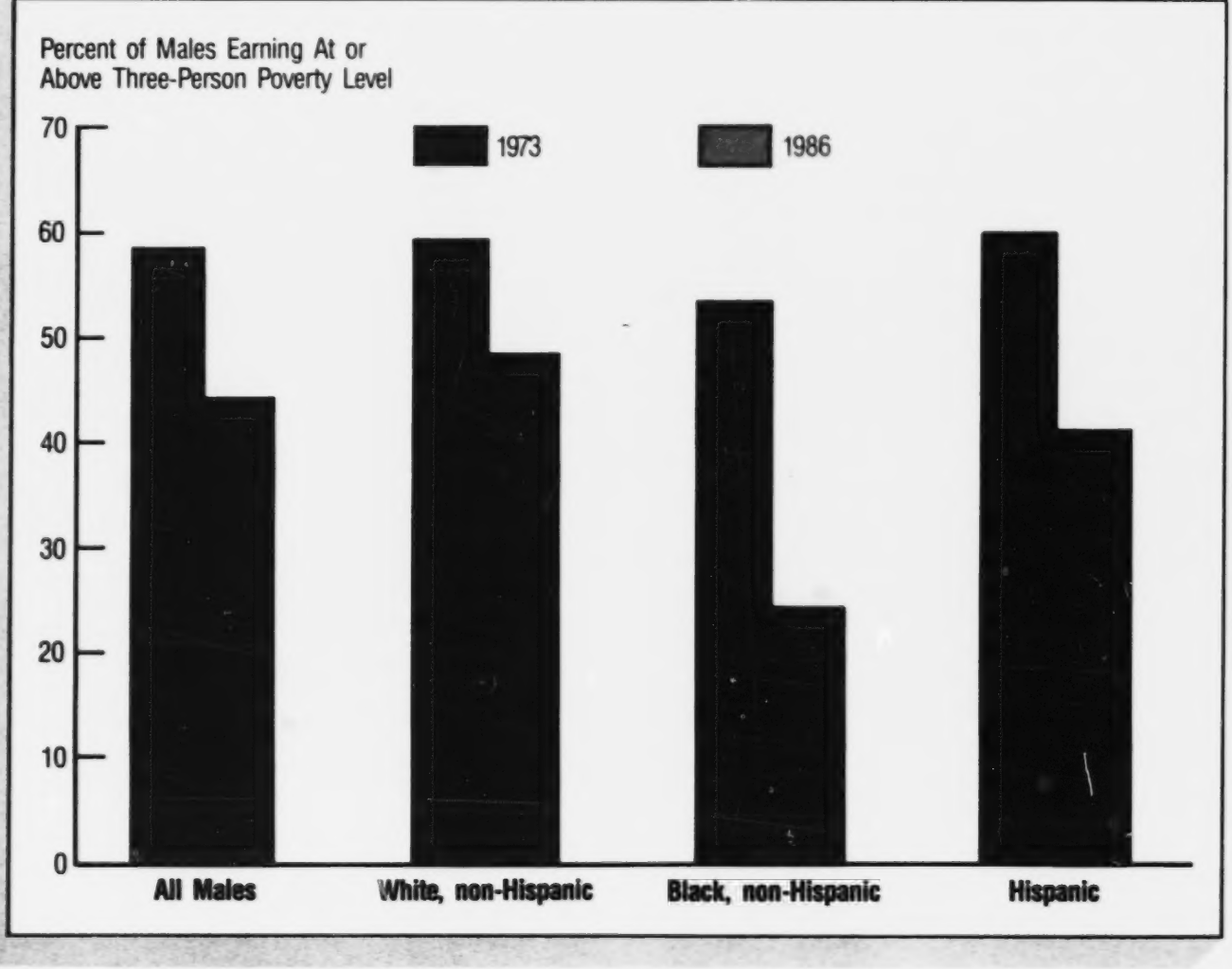
civilian labor force. By 1974, that percentage had risen to 63 and by 1986 to 72, a rise of over 56 percent in only a quarter of a century. (These percentages do not include nearly a quarter of a million women in the armed forces.) As educational and career opportunities have expanded for women, delaying marriage in order to pursue advanced training or to seek a stronger foothold in the world of work seems to be a logical course of behavior.

William T. Grant Commissioner William Julius Wilson was among the first to hypothesize that the declining economic fortunes of young black males, particularly those with the least education, are a powerful determinant of marriage patterns.[12] Simply put, when fewer men have the employment opportunities and earnings to support decent family life, women view them as less desirable marriage partners and marriage as a less attractive option. Since non-college youth's real earnings position has sharply deteriorated in the last 15 years, so runs the hypothesis, we should expect that the marriage pool should also markedly decline. And that has occurred. Indeed, Wilson estimates that, in 1980, for every 100 black women age 20-24, there were only 45 employed black men of the same age.[13] *As the availability of full-time, well-paying jobs with job security and accompanying fringe benefits has declined, so has the ability of young males to support a family of three at an economic level above the poverty line.*

YOUNG MALES ARE HAVING INCREASING DIFFICULTY EARNING ABOVE THE THREE-PERSON POVERTY LEVEL, MINORITY MALES MOST OF ALL

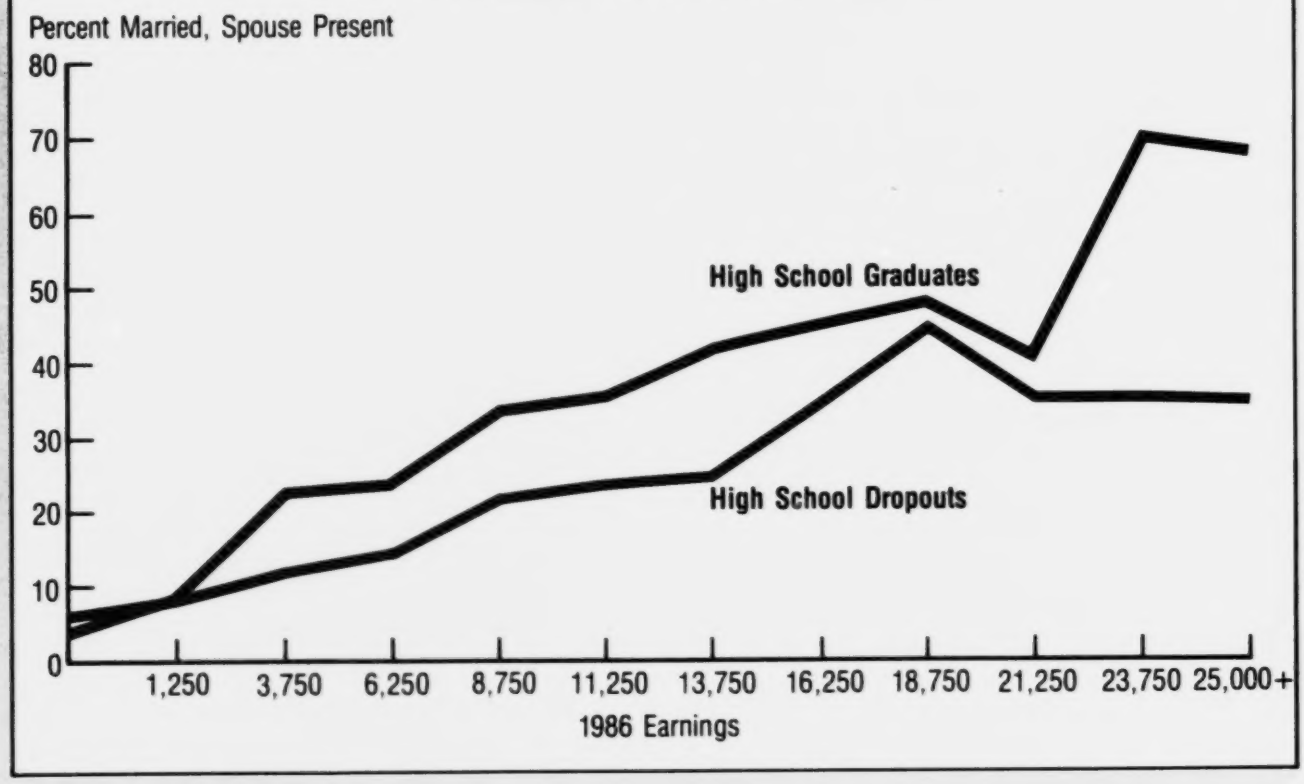
TABLE 5
Percent of 20–24-Year-Old Males (All Educational Groups), With Real Annual Earnings At or Above the Three-Person Poverty Line, by Race/Ethnic Group: 1973–86
(in percentages)

	1973	1986
All Males	58.3	43.8
White, non-Hispanic	59.3	48.2
Black, non-Hispanic	53.4	24.0
Hispanic	59.9	40.6



HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES EARN MORE AND ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE MARRIED AND LIVING WITH THEIR SPOUSES THAN ARE DROPOUTS

CHART A
Proportion of 20–24-Year-Old Males Who Were Married and Living With Their Spouses, by 1986 Annual Earnings and by Educational Subgroup, March 1987



As Table 5 demonstrates, young males as a whole were markedly less able to carry their weight in supporting a three-person family above the poverty line in 1985 than they were in 1973. Mirroring the sharper decline in their earnings during this period, there was a 55 percent drop in the proportion of black men age 20-24 who were able to support a three-person family above the poverty line. Not surprisingly, then, 20-24-year-old black males with above poverty-level earnings are three times as likely to marry as those with below-poverty income. The fact is—there aren't enough of such better earners to go around.

Sum and his associates at Northeastern University do not claim that the real earnings of young men are the *sole* determinant of marriage rates, even though the correlation is striking. Chart A illustrates the close relationships among educational attainment, earnings of young men, and their marriage rates. In brief: *the more years of education completed, the higher one's earnings; the higher one's earnings, the greater likelihood that young men will marry.* These positive correlations between real earnings and marriage hold true for both high school dropouts and high school graduates.

Sum concludes that about a quarter of the fall-off in marriage rates since 1973 among high school graduates and nearly half of the decline among dropouts can be attributed to the decline of young men's earnings. Had the real earnings distribution of young black

men in 1986 been identical to that of 1973, their marriage rate in 1987 would likely have been 2.3 times higher than it actually was. Thus, the substantive drop in the real earnings position of non-college males, especially among dropouts and minorities, played a major part in reducing the marriage rate among that age group and was "a key factor influencing the continued rise of young, single-parent families in the US over the past 15 years."

Earnings and Education

So, we return to a central observation of our Interim Report: earnings are closely tied to educational attainment or the years of schooling completed. Regardless of race or ethnic origin, the more years a person spends in formal education, the greater that person's annual earnings. But as Table 6 shows, young (age 20-24) male workers' real mean earnings in 1986 ($9,027) were fully one-quarter less than the identical age group earned 13 years earlier ($12,166 in 1986 dollars). Within a general decline of real earnings, college graduates were substantially better off than high school graduates who, in turn, substantially out-earned dropouts. *Dropouts as a whole were over 42 percent worse off in 1986 than their peers 13 years earlier; the average black school dropout earned an astonishing 60 percent less.*

The real annual earnings of 20-29-year-old black males with some postsecondary schooling have declined substantially since the late 1970s; nevertheless, they outearn black males with only a high school diploma by 20 to 25 percent. *Additional schooling for black men after high school leads to higher earnings; however, the real earnings levels remain below those achieved in the early 1970s.* Note that the only group experiencing an increase in real earnings between 1973 and 1986 was black college graduates.

These disturbing trends, particularly for dropouts and blacks, are influenced in part by including the growing number of poorly-educated males with no reported earnings whatsoever: 7.8 percent of 20-24-year-old males in 1973, rising to 10.1 percent in 1986. Young black high school dropouts fared the worst: 12.3 percent reported no earnings in 1973 compared to 23.4 percent in 1984. (Obviously, there is no way to account here for unreported earnings in the underground economy, nor to substantiate how many young people have turned to this economy for their livelihood.)

That "education pays" is demonstrated by another set of figures: full-time, year-round male workers, 25 years old and over, who had not completed high school earned a median income of $18,881 in 1985; high school graduates earned $23,853; college graduates earned $32,822; and those with professional training requiring five or more years of college, $39,335.[14] Earnings for women workers at these same levels of educational attainment were around 40 percent lower, at $11,836; $15,481; $21,389; and $25,928, respectively.

Stated in terms of a family's ability to avoid poverty, we see that young families without children headed by college graduates avoid poverty almost completely. Their family poverty rates were 3.5 percent in 1986 for family heads under 25 and zero for family heads age 25-29. Even those young families with only a high school diploma but no children face low poverty rates (2 to 3.5 percent). Having children and reducing the years of education completed, however, combine to raise poverty rates several fold. When the family is headed by a single mother with limited education, the incidence of poverty increases dramatically, reaching 81 to 93 percent, depending on her age.

Overall, depending upon the type of family, educational attainment of the householder, and number of children, families headed by a person under age 25 have poverty rates ranging from 3.5 to as high as 92 percent. (See Table 7) Thus, *staying in the formal educational system beyond high school, entering both husband and wife into the labor force, delaying or forgoing parenthood, and limiting family size are, beyond question, effective strategies for reducing poverty and its many devastating accompaniments.*

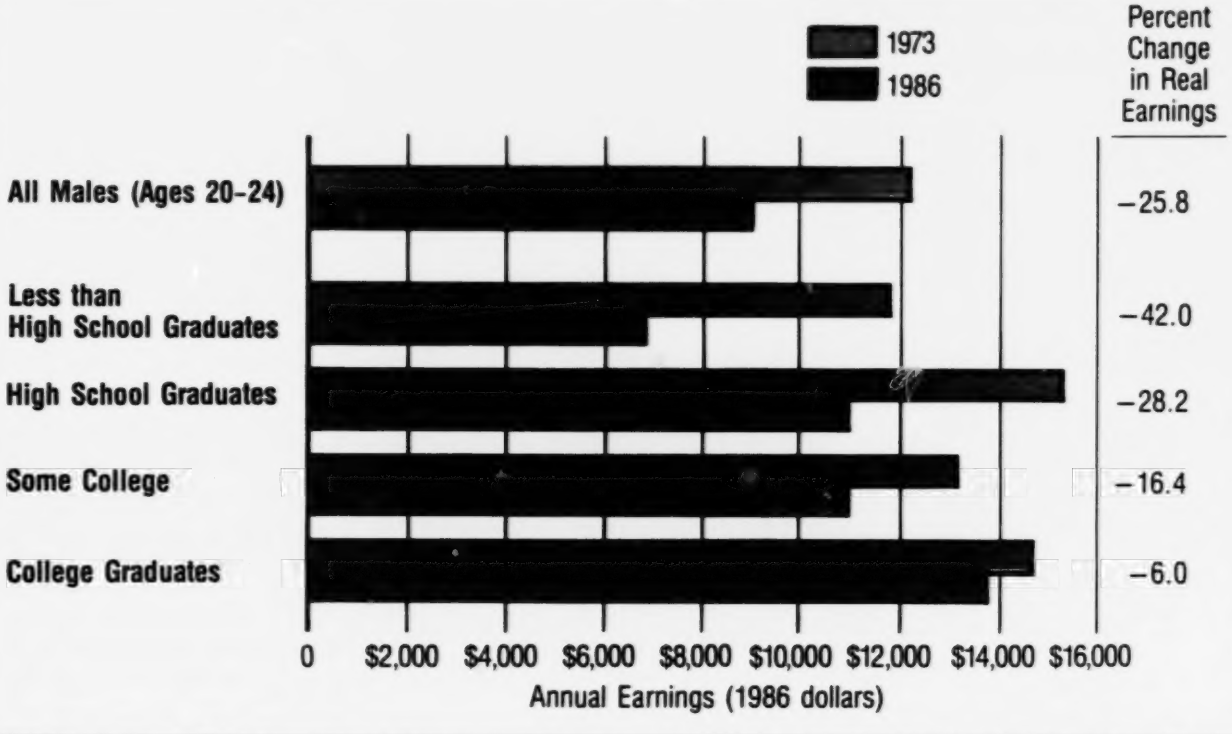
But once a family has sent all its available workers into the workforce and limited the number of its children, there is little left it can do to maintain its standard of living if real wages stagnate or worsen.

In addition, such strategies impose significant personal and social costs. For families in which both spouses work, the sacrifices in leisure and family time forgone, and the possible loss of family intimacy and reduced participation in community, political, and civic life may have important effects in years to come.[15] We know far less than we should about their eventual impact. Moreover, as Ben Wattenberg of the American Enterprise Institute has recently asked, what are the adverse consequences for society when the best educated segments in American society delay, limit, or forgo childbearing?[16] To turn the question on its

TABLE 6
Trends in the Real Mean Annual Earnings of 20–24-Year-Old Civilian Males, 1973–86, by Educational Attainment* and Race/Ethnic Group
(in 1986 dollars)

	All Males (20–24)		% Change in Earnings 1973–86			
	1973	1986	All	White (Non-Hispanic)	Black	Hispanic
All Males	$12,166	$ 9,027	−25.8	−21.0	−46.0	−29.0
Less than High School Graduates	11,815	6,853	−42.0	−42.3	−60.6	−27.3
High School Graduates	15,221	10,924	−28.2	−24.4	−43.8	−34.5
Some College	13,108	10,960	−16.4	−11.3	−42.7	−21.2
College Graduates	14,630	13,759	−6.0	−5.6	+6.5	N.A.

***Note:** Earnings data for schooling categories pertain only to those 20–24 year-old males who did not cite school as their major activity at the time of March 1974 and March 1987 surveys.



head, what happens to society when births spiral in homes unable to provide the economic and social supports necessary for sound child and youth development and for effective preparation for work and adult responsibilities?

Housing and Young Families

Decent and affordable housing is a prerequisite for raising healthy families. Children and youth who grow up in inadequate housing, whether rented or owned by their parents, customarily face a less promising future than do their peers who live in more adequate dwellings.

It should be a matter of the gravest public concern that America is in the midst of a major housing crisis, the effects of which fall disproportionately on young families and their children. Consider these grim statistics,[17] which are only pale proxies for the pain and suffering experienced by an increasing number and proportion of America's young families:

- From 1973-1987, most households headed by a person over age 35 significantly increased their rate of home ownership, some subgroups to almost a 90 percent rate. Among all households headed by a person under age 25, however, only 16.1 percent owned their homes in 1987, down almost one-third from 23.4 percent in 1973. Home ownership among married household heads under age 25 with children also fell sharply, from 38.9 percent to 29.1 percent. Single parents with children fared worst of all. The proportion of such

TABLE 7

Poverty Rates of Young Primary Families, by Age of Family Householder, 1986

(Families as of March 1987, in percentages)

Family Subgroup	(A) Householder Under 25	(B) Householder 25-29
Married Couple Family, Householder College Graduate, No Children	3.5	.0
Married Couple Family, Householder a High School Graduate, No Children	3.5	2.0
Married Couple Family, Householder a High School Graduate, One or More Children	18.5	9.0
Married Couple Family, Householder a High School Dropout, One or More Children	36.5	24.7
Female-Headed Family, Householder A High School Graduate, One or More Children	72.8	57.5
Female-Headed Family, Householder a High School Dropout, One or More Children	92.6	81.5

families able to afford home ownership over these same 14 years fell by over half, from 13.7 to 6.3 percent.

- The after-tax cost of paying the mortgage on a typical starter home in 1987 required one-third of young buyers' (age 25-29) total annual income—50 percent higher than the proportion of earnings required in the early 1970s.
- Rental housing is increasingly the only option for young families. From 1974 to 1987, the number of young single-parent renter households nearly doubled, concurrently with the decline in their real income from $10,965 to $7,271. During the same period, the number of renters with children grew over four times faster than the rate for all households.
- Adjusted for general inflation, rents today are at their highest level in two decades, having risen 14 percent higher than the overall cost of living. Moreover, rents increased faster at the low end of the market serving lower income young families. The median rent of $364 per month in 1987 was well beyond the reach of an increasing proportion of America's young families.
- Young families today face severe shortages of *affordable* rental units. Rents taking as much as 40-80 percent of their total income are not uncommon. It is estimated that single-parent families headed by persons under age 25 would have had to pay 81.1 percent of their total income in 1987, up from 46.2 percent in 1974, to afford decent rental housing. Married families with children had a rent burden of 28.4 percent versus the 18.9 percent of 1974. With such a large proportion of their income consumed by rent, opportunities for savings and future home ownership are virtually nil, while what remains to pay for food, clothing, continuing education, and health care is clearly insufficient to support decent living standards.

Health Insurance and Young Families

No less than adequate housing, decent family life requires adequate health care and health insurance coverage. But youth and young families are far less likely to be covered by health insurance plans than are older Americans. Blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities are also less frequently insured than white non-Hispanics. In late 1985, 21.4 percent of the nation's 16-24-year-olds—7.4 million young people—were not covered by health insurance. By contrast, the proportion of the total uninsured civilian population was one-third lower, 13.3 percent. Employers' health benefits covered only about 55 percent of 16-24-year-olds compared with 75 percent of middle-aged workers.[18]

Further, younger families that gain or lose members through births and deaths incur health care costs averaging $2,854 annually, considerably higher than more stable families, which spend $1,771. Forty-two percent of young families that gained or lost a family head or spouse had hospital expenses averaging $4,300 (in 1980 dollars).[19] As a percentage of their total income, such health care costs, particularly those associated with one or more births, clearly place unusually heavy burdens on lower-income young families and on society's philanthropies and tax-supported medical institutions.

Changing Demography, Changing Fortunes?

Some observers argue that the current plight of the youth and young families comprising the Forgotten Half can be safely ignored. As the numbers of America's young decline, they predict, youth unemployment will fall. Their earnings will then rise because employers will have to offer higher wages for their services. According to this reasoning, housing, childcare, and health care will all become more affordable.

To be sure, the number of young people is shrinking drastically. By 1995, America's 16-24-year-old population (civilian, non-institutional) is expected to fall 20 percent from its 1980 level, that is, from 36.2 to 28.9 million or from 21.5 to 15 percent of the nation's civilian, working-age population. By the year 2000, the US labor force in the 16-24 group will comprise only about 22.6 million young men and women, down since 1972 from 23 to only 16.3 percent of the entire work force.[20]

The number of families headed by persons under age 25 has also fallen substantially. In March 1974, there were 3.97 million such families. Thirteen years later, in March 1987, the number had fallen 30 percent to 2.78 million, during a period when the total number of American families was increasing by nearly 18 percent.

Against this backdrop of declining numbers of young people and young families, the Hudson Institute's *Work Force 2000*[21] summarizes the most prevalent, but by no means unanimous, view about our economy at the beginning of the next century. Hudson's forecasters expect it to grow at a healthy pace. Manufacturing will

constitute a much smaller share of the economy, while service industries will create "all of the new jobs, and most of the new wealth." Yet, the workforce will grow slowly, becoming older, more female, more minority, and more disadvantaged. Only 15 percent of new entrants to the labor force between now and 2000 will be US-born white males, compared with today's white males who comprise 47 percent of the labor force. Hudson asserts that the new service jobs will demand much higher skill levels than ever, and there will be little new employment for those who cannot read, follow directions, and use mathematics. In fact, they argue, a majority of all new jobs will require some postsecondary, although not necessarily college, education. *Unless workforce basic skills are raised substantially, and quickly, we shall have more joblessness among the least skilled, accompanied by a chronic shortage of workers with advanced skills.*

Other students of demography and the labor force concur in the Hudson Institute's analysis regarding high skill jobs, but doubt that all future job growth will either require universally higher skill levels or result in such improved productivity that higher wages will result. Looking at the job structure of the American economy, experts like Harold Hodgkinson stress that positions at the fast-growing, low-skilled end of most service industries—hotel room cleaners, cashiers, janitors, security guards, restaurant workers, delivery and fast food personnel—are difficult to automate and do not require major educational upgrading. Major gains in worker productivity that would support good salaries are therefore difficult to imagine. The Bureau of Labor Statistics projects the need, by the year 2000, for 13 times as many new cashiers as for computer programmers. Florida's economy is estimated to need seven new waiters or waitresses for every new systems analyst. Delaware employers will hire 12 fast food workers for every computer programmer; Ohio's ratio is 17 to one.[22]

By century's end, 61 percent of all working-age women will either hold jobs or be looking for work, and the percentage of new workers of minority origin will double to 29 percent.[23] Although we face a nationwide need for more workers, minorities are concentrated in our central cities where fewer jobs are available. This mismatch, combined with the widespread deficits in academic skills and job experience of many of these potential workers, does not auger well for the employment of either poorly educated minority group members or others who lack solid workplace skills.

In short, with regard to today's low-skilled workers, really good wages will come primarily from moving into higher productivity occupations with built-in career ladders for personal advancement. Education and training can help millions of individuals prepare themselves for more responsible and more remunerative work but cannot transform *every* job into a high pay and high status career. *As far into the future as we can see, there will be millions of jobs that education and training alone will have only limited ability to upgrade. Public and private policies related to wages, hours, benefits, promotions, and working conditions will continue to exert major influence on the economic viability of America's youth and young families.*

Youth Employment: A Summer 1988 Update

With the glut of the Baby Boom Generation no longer a factor in the entry-level job market and a much smaller number of youth entering the employment pipeline, it is widely assumed that markedly improved economic fortunes would result.[24] As we complete the writing of this report in the summer of 1988, we must move beyond prediction and ask how the recent expansion of the economy affects America's young people, particularly minority youngsters. Are the gloomy numbers we have cited at length likely to be fundamentally contradicted by a newly buoyant economy? It appears not.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, teen-age employment (age 16-19) in August 1988 fell by 172,000 from June, while their official unemployment rate rose to 15.8 percent. White teenagers' unemployment rate rose from 12 to 13.8 percent, while the rate for blacks increased from 28.4 to 32.4 percent. *Workers age 20-24 continued to suffer historically high unemployment rates: 6.8 percent for whites, 11 percent for Hispanics, 20.3 percent for blacks.* Compared with a year ago, overall teen employment rose slightly, to 47.5 percent, while the number of employed teens fell by 38,000.

Aside from worries as to whether current employment levels can be sustained and troubling questions about the quality and earnings of the newly-listed jobs with seasonal volatility, it must be noted that marked racial and ethnic disparities persist. *Only 28.7 percent of black youth and 37.4 of Hispanic teens were employed in August, compared with 51.0 percent of their white peers. More important, while 56 percent of all teenagers were in the labor force (either*

employed or looking for work), the range of labor force participation by race/ethnicity is enormous: whites 58.9 percent, Hispanics 51.1 percent, blacks only 42 percent. Labor force participation rates for 20-24-year-olds—82.4 percent—while substantially higher than for teenagers, continued to show marked disparities associated with race and ethnicity: 84.6 percent for whites, 76.6 percent for Hispanics, 72.9 percent for blacks.

New England's recent experience with a robust economy is also instructive. Despite below-average regional unemployment, a relatively high wage structure for its newly created jobs, and much smaller numbers of young workers, recent poverty rates of young New England families were the same as those in the nation as a whole. The incidence of poverty in New England's central cities actually rose as the number of under-educated, often limited English-speaking, frequently single-parent families also grew. New England's female-headed families actually had the highest poverty rate in the nation—69 percent—versus the regional average of 60 percent (in every region except the Pacific). New England's supposed economic miracle of the 1980s has not reached all who searched for it, and many of its poorly educated youth and young families remain seriously at risk.[26]

Taken together, *abundant evidence provides compelling reasons to avoid a do-nothing, "time-will-cure-all" policy toward America's young. We cannot wait for demography to make our youth valuable commodities, worthy of public and private investment. That time is already here.* There is work to be done now if needless pain and suffering are to be avoided. There are actions to be taken now to prepare a workforce that is productive and capable of contributing to the restoration of America's competitive position in the world economy, the resumption of rising real wages for workers, and rising living standards for families.

In the chapters that follow, we build upon the recommendations of our Interim Report and describe what else the nation must do now—in the workplace, in adult-youth relationships, in the community, and in education and training to prepare a capable citizenry. While focusing primarily on non-college youth, a number of our findings and recommendations apply to the needs of *all* young Americans. We recognize that the ill effects of a troubled economy have been borne disproportionately by the Forgotten Half and that these effects are likely to have consequences on young people and their families for years to come. Our mission, however, has not been to analyze the state of the economy or to offer prescriptions for its revitalization. Instead, our charge has been to assess the state of American youth and to identify the home, school, and community supports that young people need to participate fully as workers, citizens, family members, and parents.

The recommendations that comprise the bulk of our two reports will not, of themselves, generate the climate of economic vitality in which individual success can flourish. Nevertheless, we are guided by the words of Tennyson in his poem *Ulysses*: "I am part of all that I have met." We believe that the many constructive experiences, relationships, and supports that this report recommends constitute the ongoing education of which rich and rewarding lives are made. Family, community, and educational supports—together with a prosperous and stable economy and good jobs for young workers—can help more of the Forgotten Half live lives of dignity, contribution, and pride as full partners in America's future.

Chapter 2

Pathways to Success: Stronger Families and Closer Adult-Youth Relationships

American Families: How Successful?

Some observers, pointing to high rates of divorce, single-parent families, and working mothers, argue that the overall well-being of adolescents has declined since the early 1960s. According to this view, "as men and women increase their commitment to their own self-fulfillment, they necessarily reduce their commitment to sacrificing personal pursuits for their children's welfare."[1] Without question, increasing rates of single-parent families and the expanding economic need for maternal employment outside the home *have* meant that young people and adults spend less time together. Longer work weeks and increasing teenage employment also play a part. The effects of social and economic changes on the family are incontrovertible, but do they signal a lack of parental care and concern?

Our inquiries suggest that, for the most part, they do not. A national poll reports that the average American work week has dropped back from its 1984 high of 47.3 hours to 46.3. Yet, the decline in leisure time has been much more dramatic. The weekly hours available "to relax, watch TV, take part in sports or hobbies, go swimming or skiing, go to the movies, theater, concerts, or other forms of entertainment, get together with friends, and so forth"—have dropped from 26.2 in 1973 to 16.6 in 1988. Most Americans appear to be tempering the time spent at work and sharply reducing their personal leisure in order to find time for home and family responsibilities, taking care of their children, arranging meals, and keeping the household running smoothly.[2]

In this section, we explore changes that have affected the relationships between adolescents and their parents. *We ask: If family nurturance of young people has been weakened, how can it be strengthened?* We acknowledge that *not all* families—be they two-parent or single parent, with employed mothers or without—work well. Domestic violence, drug abuse, alcoholism, child abuse and neglect, and juvenile crime are an indication of problems in family function that occur across income levels and family structures. A small proportion of families, faced with multiple problems, especially poverty, have virtually ceased to operate. Unable to meet their obligation to provide love and nurture to their members, they have been replaced by the beguiling solidarity of gangs, the lonely intimacy of drugs, and the false protection of the streets.

At the same time, we agree with the position taken by Kenneth Keniston and the Carnegie Council on Children[3] that nothing is gained by blaming families for changes caused by broader economic and social forces that lie, for the most part, beyond their control. The vast majority of families, including those of the Forgotten Half, labor long and hard to give their children and adolescents the physical protection and the emotional and social guidance they need. All families, even the most stable, have ups and

downs requiring extra help and outside support that should be more widely available than at present. This is especially true for those families challenged by single-parenthood, the dual responsibilities of home and work, and growing economic pressures. *While families bear the primary responsibility to care for their children and help them grow into healthy adults and contributing citizens, other institutions—notably employers, schools, governments, and community agencies—can do much more to enable families to accommodate to a changing world.* These efforts must begin by supporting both the families that young people are born into *and* the families they create as adults.

> *The family . . . may be the one social glue strong enough to withstand the centrifuge of special interests which send us spinning away from each other. There, in the family, the Elderly Rights are also grandparents and the Children's Rights are also nieces and nephews. There, the old are our parents and the young are our children. There, we care about each others' lives. There, self-interest includes concern for the future of the next generation. Because they are ours.*
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> —Ellen Goodman, *Close to Home*[4]

Parent-Adolescent Relationships

The parent-child relationship is the young person's model for interpersonal relationships and the training ground for social life in general.[5,6] Prior to the Industrial Revolution, young people entered the workforce and shouldered adult burdens at a very early age. Today, the period known as adolescence allows young people an extended time of preparation for adulthood during which they experiment with adult roles but generally do not assume their full responsibilities. The parent-child relationship during this period is critical.

As young people enter adolescence, they assume increasing responsibility for their own choices, successes, and failures, and begin to question the adult rules and regulations they've always taken for granted. After an initial period of conflict during which young adolescents practice their new assertiveness, they once again reach out to parents, provided that parents give them room to grow. A second period of strain may occur in late adolescence.[7] The classic view of adolescence assumes the need for emotional detachment from parents[8] while its polar opposite emphasizes more restrictive parental practices in order to avert the problems of drug use, early sexual activity, and school difficulties sometimes associated with increasing adolescent development.[9] A growing body of research, however, suggests a middle ground as the preferred path to adolescent maturity.[10] *Working together, parents and adolescents can establish new rules that affirm the young person's increasing maturity and strike a balance of interdependence between conflict and harmony, and between too much separation and not enough.*

Research confirms the common sense view that support from parents who encourage independence and individuality in a context of warmth and affection, and who acknowledge and respect their adolescent's point of view while sharing different perspectives, is strongly associated with adolescent competence.[11] Relationships with parents and other supportive adults also help young people cope with problems and buffer them from the negative effects of stress.[12]

Young people want—as well as need—adult support. Data collected from 11,000 8th, 9th, and 10th graders in 75 public and

33 private schools demonstrate that a majority of young people rely on adult guidance when they are faced with important moral choices, making decisions about the future, and resolving issues related to sex, drugs, and alcohol. Sixty-three percent said they would go to either a parent (25 percent) or an adult, non-related friend (38 percent) for help or advice if they were having trouble with alcohol or sex.[13]

When asked, young people consistently point to their parents as the most influential adults in their lives. Nearly 90 percent of high school seniors agree with their parents on the value of an education, and a full 70 percent report no difference of opinion with their parents on what they should do with their lives.[14]

The activity young people most enjoy sharing with their parents is "just talking."[15] But communicating is not always easy. A 1987 national survey found that, while 13-17-year-olds feel comfortable talking with their parents about school (94 percent), drug use (80 percent), and their friends (84 percent), only 78 percent feel comfortable talking with parents about their relationships with *them* and just 71 percent can easily tell them about their personal problems.[16] And, even though young people look to adults, especially their parents, for advice on careers, marriage, and further education, they say their parents are often not available. Young people may live with adults, but their lives do not necessarily intersect.[17]

Hectic schedules can limit family time. According to one study, typical American adolescents spend only about five minutes a day alone with their fathers and about 40 minutes alone with their mothers, often while shopping, doing housework, or preparing meals. Another hour is spent with both parents and about 15 minutes with other adults. All told, the young people sampled in the survey spent about two hours per day with adults other than teachers.[18] Mealtime conversation may also be declining. A 1976 Roper Organization poll of 2,004 families showed that 74 percent of those with children between the ages of 7 and 17 ate dinner together frequently. A decade later that number had dropped to 63 percent.[19]

Fostering Ties Between Parents and Adolescents

Families themselves must take the first, most important steps toward strengthening parent-adolescent relationships. *Every family—regardless of composition—could benefit from spending time together doing something all family members can enjoy.* ***We recommend that the nation's political, corporate, educational, and religious leadership publicize the need for families to spend leisure time together and place strategies to help find it high on the national agenda.*** In most families, finding time will be the hard part—coming up with alternative ways to spend it will be far easier.

Community support services can help families build the open and respectful communication that most parents and adolescents desire. Ideally, these efforts begin in early childhood. Since 1984, several states, including Connecticut, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Oregon, and Missouri, have initiated state-wide parent education programs. Most, like Missouri's Parents as Teachers Program, are open to all families. In a carefully-evaluated demonstration project, children showed significantly higher language, problem-solving, and intellectual skills than did a control group of 3-year-olds. As a result, Missouri's General Assembly appropriated funds for every school district to offer the program on a voluntary basis; since 1986, over 53,000 families in all 543 state school districts have taken child development training and have received early childhood health and developmental screening services. In addition to improved language and intellectual skills, children of participating families display more positive relations with adults and better coping skills, and parents are more knowledgeable about their child's development and more likely to have a positive attitude toward the schools.[20]

The Avance Program in San Antonio, Texas, targets a much smaller group—Mexican-American mothers and their children who are especially likely to have difficulty learning the English they will need to succeed in school. Started 15 years ago by a school teacher who wanted to help children go further in life, Avance recruits mothers by going door-to-door in housing projects and enrolls them in a nine-month program designed to strengthen their skills as parents. In addition to weekly toy-making sessions and seminars, playgroups for the children, and occasional field trips, the program includes monthly home visits. Mothers must also take turns supervising playgroups as a way to practice newly acquired skills. Learning to be better parents takes first priority, but after graduation mothers are helped to enroll in education, language, or employment training classes.[21]

Even parents and children who have always had open communication can find it difficult to talk about dating, sex, drugs, and

other sensitive issues. The National Black Women's Health Project, an Atlanta-based self-help organization founded in 1980 to educate black women on health issues, has recently completed a 90-minute documentary and study materials, "On Becoming A Woman: Mothers and Daughters Talking Together." This series of candid roundtable discussions among eight women and their daughters is available to home viewers as well as to schools, libraries, and churches. The videotape offers rich possibilities for helping mothers—and fathers—understand their adolescents and themselves.[22]

Case studies of two urban junior high schools funded by the National Institute of Education concluded that a combination of factors contribute to weak home-school relations.[26] Lack of mutual understanding between parents and teachers plays a part, but poor planning and lack of coordination within the school are also key.

The Commission recommends that schools help both parents and teachers understand their mutual responsibilities to students and the barriers they must overcome as they try to meet them. Schools need to identify and welcome new forms of parent participation better suited to working parents and schedule conferences, workshops, and opportunities to volunteer accordingly. School personnel can also promote parent involvement by ensuring that planning between parents and teachers is periodically reviewed and evaluated.

> ***Families today are just not like we used to know them. . .times and people have changed, but the public school system hasn't changed. . .we need a system that fits new needs.***
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> — Junior high school teacher[23]

Building Bridges Between Home and School

Educators agree that parent involvement is a critical factor in raising students' achievement levels. The Effective Middle Schools Program of the Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools at Johns Hopkins University found that *teachers' practices*, rather than education, marital status, or workplace situation, make the greatest difference in whether or not parents and teachers cooperate in helping students succeed.

But employment and marital status do enter in.[24] An intensive study of 60 single-parent and working-couple families, conducted by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory's Working Parent Project between 1981 and 1983, found that all parents had difficulty scheduling parent-teacher conferences during the day and that mothers, rather than fathers, were more likely to make the adjustments at work necessary to maintain regular contact with the schools. Single parents, who typically earned less and had limited support networks, found it especially hard to compensate for lost wages or the extra childcare and transportation costs necessary to attend school meetings.[25]

In line with this view, the Education Commission of the States in *Access to Knowledge: Breaking Down School Barriers to Learning* has recently recommended that states and school districts provide incentives for schools to establish management policies that integrate the involvement of parents and students (as well as school and community professionals) into the ongoing work of the school.[27] In another 1988 report, *Drawing in the Family*, ECS calls on the states to foster parent involvement and urges that schools move "beyond the bakesale" and create better ways to foster home and school collaborations.[28]

We recommend that parents also help bridge the gap between home and school, beginning in preschool and continuing throughout high school, by supplementing frequent telephone contact with personal visits when possible, and by making fuller use of available community resources.

The Home and School Institute, for example, produces idea books and guides to foster family communication and participation that parents and children can use on their own. The materials include "Families Learning Together," "Survival Guide for Working Parents," and "Bright Idea—Family Problem-Solving," as well as a new volume entitled *MegaSkills* that stresses the basic attitudes, values, and behaviors that determine a child's achievement.[29] They are designed to give parents practical information on how parents can initiate home and school cooperation, help with homework, make informed television choices, and reinforce learning in the home environment. Employers can also help by allowing working parents released time for necessary school activities.

The Contours of Change

Modern patterns of work and high rates of single-parenthood and divorce have changed the shape of many families, sometimes challenging their effectiveness. Social policy must recognize and deal with existing family patterns, including the competition between work time and family time. *We recognize that no amount of non-family attention can substitute for the sense of home and belonging that even a family with serious problems can convey to its members. Nevertheless, if families are to provide for, protect, and teach their members, other social institutions must share more of the burden of accommodating to recent economic and social changes.*

Single-parenthood and Divorce

As of 1986, nearly 15 million young people under 18—close to 24 percent—were living in single-parent families. The proportion of young people living with just their mother has risen among both blacks and whites, and remains higher among blacks. By 1990, an estimated 40 percent of children born in the US are expected to spend their entire childhood living with both biological parents. Divorce has contributed to the increase in single-parent families—the number of children living with a divorced mother more than doubled between 1970 and 1986—but unmarried parenthood is the greater cause. During the same period, births to unmarried women increased by a factor of six.[30] Children of divorced parents can expect to live nearly four and one-half years with only one parent before that parent remarries. In many black families—50 percent of which are headed by a single mother—the time spent living with only one parent can be much longer.

Single-parenthood, separation, and divorce markedly affect adolescents' relationships with their parents. After divorce, adolescents typically feel especially close to their custodial mother, whether or not she is working and apparently regardless of whether they spend additional time together. Conversely, distance between adolescents and their fathers, both perceived and real, tends to grow.[31] A national survey of children involved in divorce found that a majority had seen their fathers rarely or not at all during the preceding year. Less disturbing, but still of concern, is the assertion that only one child in six who is living with a divorced mother maintains weekly contact with the father.[32]

The Commission is especially concerned about the devastating financial impact of parental separation that occurs as a result of divorce or unmarried parenthood. The median annual income of female-headed families in 1985 was $13,923, and close to one-third of these families lived below the poverty line.[34] Recent statistics show that a significant factor in this poverty is the non-

> ***. . .the family must have sufficient emotional strength remaining after dealing with survival issues, to care for and nurture its children. In practical terms, this means access to food, shelter, physical safety and economic stability. As these resources diminish, stress increases and the outcomes in terms of the children become less acceptable.***
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> — Philip J. Schwartz et al.[33]

payment of child support by non-custodial fathers. In 1985, the aggregate amount of child support payments due was $10.9 billion, but payments actually received amounted to only $7.2 billion. Only 50 percent of all custodial mothers with children under 21 years of age had court-ordered support decrees for financial assistance, and most received less than the amount due. In 1985, only one-half received full payment, about one-quarter received some support, and one-quarter received no help at all.

Mothers with incomes below poverty level were even less likely to receive help. Only about 40 percent in 1985 were awarded support decrees, and fully one-third of these received nothing. The average child support paid to poor women in 1985 was about $115 per month, far less than the already minimal $185 per month average support received by women at all income levels.

> ***Since I live close, I try to spend four to five hours a day with Tyna. She just makes me feel so good. Loving her is really easy, but it's hard to discipline my own child when my mother is trying to tell me what to do. I do construction work whenever I can, but there's not too much work around here. I would have to drive 75 miles to find something regular. We manage. My mother works at the soup canning company, and my older brother is a mechanic. Between us we get enough money to keep us going.***
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> — Eric, age 20[34]

Because of significant disincentives, only 18 percent of never-married mothers adjudicated their child's paternity.[35] The most a custodial mother on welfare will receive from any court-ordered payment is $50; the rest is automatically deducted to offset welfare costs. In addition, if a mother sues her child's father, she risks alienating him and his family and losing the informal support they frequently offer.

Without a clearly established legal claim, however, financial support is subject to the father's continuing good will; there is no recourse if it should flag. Furthermore, if their father dies or is injured, children without legal paternity cannot claim his Social Security, Workmen's Compensation, or military benefits. However, when legal fatherhood is established, national data reveal that full or partial payments are received in 76 percent of the cases.[36]

Adolescents' lives are clearly affected by their parents' non-payment of support, and adolescents can become non-custodial fathers themselves. Such young parents have special difficulty in understanding and meeting the responsibilities of fatherhood. But many, often with help from their parents, are trying. A recent ethnographic study of low-income young fathers revealed that most were assuming at least some parental responsibility by offering periodic childcare, food, clothes, or cash.[37]

The Teen Alternative Parenting Program (TAPP) is an example of a local effort to expand the definition of child support and to enhance adolescent fathers' long-term ability to care for their children. Operated by the Child Support Division of the Prosecutor's Office in Marion County, Indiana, the program allows young fathers to make child support payments through in-kind contributions. Fathers under 21 are invited to sign 90-day contracts agreeing to attend education, vocational, or parent education classes in the community, or to provide childcare in lieu of specified amounts of their court-ordered payment. The mothers of their children must also sign and agree to accept this in-kind contribution: the program does not compensate for the reduction in the fathers' cash payments.

Mothers on welfare readily agree as the reductions are rarely allowed to affect the portion of the payment they are allowed to keep each month. The cooperation of other mothers often depends on the willingness of supportive families to make up the difference.

Participants meet monthly with Child Support Division staff to review their progress and renegotiate a new agreement at the end of each 90-day period. With no additional budget or staff, TAPP has enrolled, counseled, and referred 86 young men since 1986. They have not conducted a formal evaluation but anecdotal evidence has convinced the Division to hire a full-time coordinator out of regular operating funds and to provide similar referral services for teen mothers. In addition to TAPP, the Division has also developed *Choices and Responsibilities*, a comic book that helps young people see, from their children's point of view, the advantages of establishing legal paternity.[39]

Some researchers suggest that aggressive enforcement of child support laws in Sweden and The Netherlands plays a part in their low rates of teenage pregnancy. The deterrent effect of child support enforcement is uncertain in the United States,[40] but the loss of income to dependent children is clear. The 1984 Amendments to the Child Support Enforcement Act require states to develop mandatory, wage-withholding systems, streamline procedures for requesting and obtaining support orders, and lengthen the period to establish paternity at least through the child's 18th birthday.[41]

The Commission believes that vastly improved performance by the child support enforcement system is long overdue. Welfare reform legislation considered by the 99th Congress would increase the federal funding available to state and local jurisdictions to finance the cost of laboratory testing to establish paternity and require the US Department of Health and Human Services to establish more rigorous performance standards for state and local child support enforcement agencies. Under the bill's provisions, states would develop mandatory guidelines to assist judges and hearing officers in determining child support awards. It would also require all support payments to be paid through payroll deductions and would encourage states to extend the bill's JOBS employment and training program to unemployed parents who owe, but cannot pay, support. In addition, it would also authorize demonstration projects to develop, improve, or expand activities that better enforce court-ordered visitation and shared custody rights. We support the adoption of such child support measures. Even stringent collection of parental child support, however, may not be enough to assure all children a decent standard of living. A growing number of analysts argue that society should ensure every child a minimum level of support and that they should not be penalized for their parent's failure to meet support obligations.[42]

In 1983, the state of Wisconsin, following the recommendation of a 1982 report by the Institute for Research on Poverty, began implementing the first stages of a Child Support Assurance System. The Wisconsin plan is a comprehensive effort to establish paternity of every child at birth and to create mechanisms to ensure the payment of support. It assumes that even those fathers without the immediate ability to pay are likely to develop greater earning power later in their lives and, more important, that all fathers must accept the responsibility that comes with paternity. Mothers must cooperate by helping to establish legal paternity. Absent fathers are required to pay according to a basic formula of 17 percent of gross income for one child, 25 percent for two, up to a maximum of 34 percent, with monies deducted from payroll checks, much like Social Security. Exceptions and adjustments can be made in the event of unemployment or illness.

In an effort to establish child support collection as a routine, nondiscriminatory method to ensure children's economic security, payments are automatically deducted from all noncustodial parents with court-ordered support obligations, not just those who are delinquent in their payments. Piloted in ten counties since 1984, automatic withholding was initiated statewide in 1987. A sharing rate automatically indexes child support awards; as the income of the noncustodial parent increases, so does the award.

Beginning in late 1988, the state will pilot a key feature of the system: assured minimum benefits. Under this provision, children with a legally liable noncustodial parent are entitled to receive either their parents' child support payments or a socially assured minimum benefit, whichever is higher. If the non-custodial parent is unable to pay at least the assured minimum because of low earning ability, illness, or other circumstances, the difference will be paid by the state. Payments are made directly to the mother in channels separate from and less invasive than public welfare and with none of the usual welfare eligibility requirements. Although still in its early stages, advocates of the new system expect it

to eventually decrease poverty among families with child-support eligible children by about 30 percent.[43]

The Commission recommends more vigorous implementation of the 1984 amendments to the Child Support Enforcement Act and the re-evaluation of welfare policies that inadvertently discourage the establishment of legal paternity. In addition to funding demonstration projects, state programs could also recognize non-cash contributions, including childcare and participation in education and training programs designed to increase future earnings, as legitimate ways to meet parental obligations.

> *We now have microwave versions of virtually every conceivable dinner entree, but we have yet to develop an adequate system of childcare, an elementary school schedule compatible with needs of working parents, or a socially responsible [leave] policy.*
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> — Laurence Steinberg[42]

Children need a father's affection as well as his financial support, and mothers need a partner to share the responsibilities of parenthood. Fatherhood programs, a new form of parent education, offer rich potential for improved child-father relationships and increase the likelihood of continuing financial support. Recognizing that young mothers are sensitive to their partners' views on birth control[44] and that couples are more likely to delay future pregnancies successfully if both agree on contraceptive measures, many programs include family planning education.

The Teen Father Collaboration Project, developed as a national demonstration program by The Bank Street College of Education in New York provided parent education, family planning, couples counseling, and job training and placement to 395 young fathers in eight major cities between 1983 and 1985. Each site offered the same basic complement of education and training services but structured them somewhat differently to meet the special needs of the racially and ethnically diverse populations they served. A follow-up study showed that 82 percent maintained daily contact with their children, and 72 percent helped support them.[45]

Project Right Start, a program for both mothers and fathers operated by the Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Washington, DC, hopes to have similar success. In conjunction with its residential Teen Mother Support Program, Right Start helps young parents complete high school, acquire job and career skills, and keep a job once they have been hired. Participants work with counselors to customize their own program, and both sign contracts agreeing to their mutual responsibilities. Classes are located close to public transportation, assistance is given in finding childcare, and all participants are actively involved with community service activities during their 36-week program. Personal counseling and opportunities to learn positive parenting skills and childcare techniques are also offered to meet the program's primary objective: Helping young fathers and mothers handle the pressures of parenthood, build strong, caring relationships with their children, and develop sufficient workforce skills to meet the financial needs of their families.[46]

According to the National Research Council, research and evaluation on parent education programs for teens is promising enough to suggest further investments.[47] ***We strongly recommend parenthood education both before and after young people begin to form families of their own and the inclusion of parenthood education and training in constructive communication as a required part of the life skill courses offered by many church***

groups, youth organizations, job training and second-chance programs, community organizations, independent living programs, and schools. The Commission also recommends an expansion of fatherhood programs, especially those that include employment and training opportunities, as well as parenting and family planning education.

Working Parents

As of 1987, over half of all mothers with children under six and nearly 70 percent of mothers with children between six and 17 were working or looking for work outside the home.[49] In 1984, nearly 42 percent of all white children under six years of age and 51.4 percent of all black preschoolers had working mothers.[50] Without working mothers, many more American children would be poor. A full 70 percent of employed women polled by the *New York Times* in 1983 reported that the primary reason they worked was to support their families.[51] We agree with the Family Policy Panel of the United Nations Association that working parents are increasingly unsure of how to balance the competing pressures of job and family responsibilities and that the major institutions in our country—from the federal government to the workplace—have not fully recognized or responded to these changes.[52]

Part-time employment, argued by some as the best way to handle the dual responsibilities of work and parenthood, isn't an option for many women. Women are assuming ever larger economic responsibility, but they still earn only 64 percent of what men earn at comparable jobs.[53] In 1987, part-timers earned a median hourly wage of $4.42 compared with $7.43 for full-time workers. Eight in ten part-time workers are not covered by their employers' pension plans, and one in five have no health insurance.[54] Not surprisingly, full-time work is growing faster among women nationally than is part-time work.[55]

As a result, a conservatively estimated 2.4 million children age 5-13 are regularly unsupervised during some part of each day.[56] The high cost and widespread shortage of after-school care means that many of these latchkey children, including adolescents, spend early morning and late afternoon hours alone or with their siblings. Youth report that what they like least about their parents' work is a lack of time for them.[57]

Many adolescents with working mothers become adroit at what sociologists have termed "self-nurturing." In the best cases, young people draw on their own resources and plan with their parents to use the hours they spend on their own wisely. Brief "check-in" calls between work and home remind young people that they are not alone. For many, substantial domestic responsibilities structure and give purpose to their time. Market research indicates that nearly one-half of all teenage girls shop weekly for the family groceries. More are cooking and planning the family menu as well—so much so that at least one major convenience food producer has begun to specifically target 12-19-year-old girls in its advertising campaigns.[58]

The Commission believes that young people thrive on reasonable amounts of responsibility and the opportunity to make increasingly important decisions, but that they also need limits and a structure that makes them feel secure. Because adolescents assume the appearance of adults and the superficial ability to take on adult roles more readily than they acquire the substance of maturity, parents have the not-so-easy task of making sure their children don't take on too many of life's responsibilities too soon.

Premature independence can have disastrous consequences. Again, research confirms what is too easily forgotten. In a random sample of over 1,000 black adolescent girls in Chicago, researchers found that parental inattention to whom their daughters date, where they go, and how long they stay out is related to a higher likelihood of adolescent pregnancy. According to a 1974 study, children whose parent (in this case the mother) supervised homework, set curfews, and regulated use of leisure time were less likely to develop problem behaviors, including early sexual activity.[59] A majority of the 1,000 teachers polled in a 1987 Lou Harris poll cited isolation and lack of supervision after school as a primary cause of school difficulty.[60]

Supervising children while working is much harder to accomplish in some neighborhoods than in others. In areas characterized by high mobility, crime, and a self-protective distrust of other residents, neighbors often lack the ties that make sure a watchful eye is kept on each other's children. Describing the several barriers to adequate supervision, one expert writes:

> *It is not impossible to keep track of a child's behavior from afar, but it is extraordinarily taxing and often requires a depth of commitment and understanding between parent and child that many families simply do not enjoy. In today's society, even a*

psychologically healthy youngster, left alone and unsupervised for too long a period of time, may be tempted to get involved in activities he or she knows are wrong. . .Working parents, we have learned, worry so much about their children's activities between 3:00 and 6:00 that they could not concentrate on their work.[61]

Structured after-school care for older children is often not available and frequently expensive. Nonetheless, most families try to make arrangements for the adult supervision of pre-teenage children. According to a 1984 Census Bureau study, only 20 percent of white children and 10 percent of black children nine to 13 years old whose mothers worked full-time were left entirely on their own after school. The fact that low-income children are less likely to be left unsupervised may reflect parents' concerns about the increased environmental risks associated with poverty.[62] But the informal after-school supervision that most low-income families can afford is typically offered by older siblings, relatives, or neighbors, and is often of poor quality, unreliable, and lacks continuity.[63] ***The Commission recommends that the public and private sector support more aggressively the efforts of youth organizations and religious and civic groups to fill the gap in after-school care and develop quality programs,*** similar to those highlighted in *3:00 to 6:00 PM: Programs for Young Adolescents*, compiled by the Center for Early Adolescence (at the University of North Carolina At Chapel Hill.)[64] In Chapter 3, we discuss the role of youth agencies and strongly recommend more collaborative efforts between them and the schools to provide safe and educational before- and after-school centers for older children and adolescents.

Employers—Needed Partners

American families and the businesses that employ them are dependent on each other. With nearly 45 percent of the labor force comprised of women, and the number of dual career families skyrocketing, working families must manage domestic matters that once were handled by full-time homemakers. Between 30 and 60 percent of both men and women employees in several corporations, including Merck, Honeywell, and AT&T, reported difficulty in managing their dual responsibilities in work and family.[65] Both employers and employees are being forced to acknowledge that work and family life affect each other. Businesses must move more quickly to establish responsive guidelines in areas such as transfer and hiring, travel policies, work hours, leave, telephone use, and childcare.

Variable work schedules, known as "flextime," give employees some leeway in meeting both home and work obligations. Some plans require workers to be on the job during core hours but allow them to complete the remainder of their hours either at the beginning or the end of the day. Other variations allow longer work days and shorter weeks. This benefit is relatively easy to implement. Yet, if companies continue to incorporate flextime policies at the same slow rate as during the 1970s, only one-third of the female work force will be employed in situations that offer it by the year 2000.[66]

In their own best interests, American businesses must make helping employees find and finance adequate childcare, including after-school care for older children, a priority. Corning Glass, for example, has begun to see its employees as "internal customers." The company provides on-site childcare, a referral service, and a manual outlining their family-oriented policies. Strong leadership from top management is credited with making these policies work.[67] In a 1984 national study of employer-supported childcare, 90 percent of employers reported that their childcare policies improved morale, 65 percent observed reduced turnover, and about half noted lowered absenteeism and higher productivity.[68]

In many corporations, however, childcare assistance remains minimal although approximately 80 percent of working women are of childbearing age.[69] Preliminary findings from a 1987 Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of public and private establishments with 10 or more employees reported that only about two percent (about 25,000) sponsor daycare centers. Sixty percent provide some kind of family support benefits, such as flextime, flexible leave policies, and part-time work options, but only five percent provide any financial assistance for childcare.

Assessing the degree to which private corporations support childcare, the Conference Board found that 3,300 provide childcare assistance. Less than half include a dependent care option in flexible benefits plans, and 800 offer resource and referral services. Under one-quarter sponsor on or near-site childcare centers. Typically, these are offered by hospitals that find providing care at the worksite an effective way to recruit nurses. Very few employers actually help pay for childcare.[70]

Improved leave policies would also reduce the conflict between home and work and benefit employers at the same time. Merck and Company estimates that its six-month leave policy reduces the approximately $50,000 cost of permanently losing an employee by $12,000.[71] A 1987 Service Employees International Union (SEIU) survey of leave provisions in public and private sector contracts covering more than half of their membership found substantial progress in the public sector, but far less in the private sector. Almost all public employers provide six months or more of (unpaid) leave, nearly all continue health benefits, and about half continue to pay the premiums. Although about half of the private sector contracts provide maternity leave, only one-third carry full job guarantees. About eight percent continue to make employers' contributions to health insurance, and only a few offer leave to adoptive parents.

But breakthroughs are occurring: Janitors working for ISS Prudential Maintenance Services in Denver, Colorado, can take up to three months maternity leave with full job guarantees. SEIU's District 925 contract with Boston's Beacon Press provides *paid* leave for periods varying from two months to two weeks following a birth or the adoption of a child less than three years of age.[72]

At the state level, Minnesota's 1987 legislation has led the way in expanding family leave policies. It requires employers with at least 21 employees to allow six weeks of unpaid leave with continuous medical coverage to either or both parents at the birth or adoption of an infant. Four additional states have recently enacted policies that provide job protection to employees who must have extended time-off to care for family members and twenty-one other state legislatures are considering similar initiatives. In Connecticut, all public sector employees are able to take 24 weeks of leave and retain health benefits in the event of birth, adoption, medical disability, or illness of parent, child, or spouse. The Advisory Committee on Infant Care Leave at the Bush Center in Child Development at Yale University has recommended that all workers with newborns should have a six-month leave at 75 percent of salary with the option of an additional three months of unpaid leave, financed by employer-employee contributions into an insurance fund.[73]

The overriding need is for employers to examine their current practices and reevaluate how changes benefitting their employees would benefit them as well, in terms of a more loyal and productive workforce.

The Commission recommends that all employers implement expanded flextime, family leave, and childcare policies and, with the leadership of senior management, generate a corporate climate that recognizes the parental responsibilities of both men and women employees to their older children and adolescents as well as to their infants and preschoolers. Employers can also institute family responsibility statements that summarize their major organizational policies with regard to childcare, parental leave, work hours, transfers and relocation, job sharing, and other policies affecting families. These can be kept on file, much like affirmative action statements,[74] routinely made available to new employees, and regularly renegotiated with worker organizations. Most importantly, these policies should recognize the *continuing* needs of young people and give consideration to a broad range of family events involving adolescents as well as young children.

Easing the Financial Burden for Working Families

Changes in tax policy could give aid to families raising children without limiting their choice or lessening their initiative. Although this Commission does not have the technical expertise necessary to either support or reject any one of these complex and costly items, ***we recommend that the pros and cons of various tax policies to support families, including an increased personal tax exemption, an expanded Earned Income Tax, and Childcare Tax credits, be more widely considered and discussed by employers, policymakers, labor unions, and interested citizens.***

- **Increased Personal Tax Exemption**
  Although recently raised in the 1986 tax reform act from $1,080 to $2,000, this exemption has not kept pace with inflation. In 1948, parents could claim a $600 exemption. By 1990, families would need a $7,730 exemption to enjoy the same benefits.[75] An increase, including a ceiling for upper-income eligibility and refundable payments for low-income families, might help to restore this important support for America's families.

- **Expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)**
  Passed in 1975, this credit targets low-income families. Under its provisions, heads of households who worked during the calendar year, but who earned less than $15,000, are allowed a credit, or in

the event of a lesser amount of tax liability, a cash payment. Increasing the ceiling according to family size, as well as the cash payment amount, would help protect larger families and increase the incentive to earn higher amounts.

- **Expanded Childcare Tax Credits** Under current law, this mechanism primarily benefits middle- and upper-income families. It allows families to deduct from their federal income tax liability between 20 and 30 percent (with lower income families able to deduct a higher percentage) of their annual childcare costs. A recent simulation of the effects of 1988 tax policy using 1985 population data estimated that only about three percent of the $2.6 billion in credit awarded in 1985 would have gone to families in the bottom 30 percent of the income distribution ($12,000 and under in 1985 dollars.) In the simulation, just under eight million families received an average credit of $336, well below the ceiling of $480 for one child and $960 for two.[76] Families whose tax liability is already low remain unserved under the current law. A cash or voucher refund could expand program benefits. Allowing these credits to subsidize the purchase of after-school care for older children would recognize adolescents' continuing need for care and supervision and constitute a move toward policies for adolescents that prevent as well as treat problems.

Relationships with Other Adults

Parents are the most important adults in young people's lives, but other adults can also play important roles. Families in many cultures enlist the aid of adults outside the immediate family to provide guidance, support, and special attention for their children. The role of godparent, familiar to many Americans, is mirrored in the Latin American "padrino" tradition. Carefully chosen by the family, the padrino assumes the mantle of teacher and counselor to one child. In Japan, the "sensei" fills a similar function.

Young people themselves often find adults—relatives, close friends of either parent, a family doctor, a neighbor, or other adult—willing to play less formal versions of the same mentoring role. Teachers, guidance counselors, and ministers are other obvious choices. Young people, however, tend not to seek out adults whom they perceive to be highly judgmental or adults whom they believe will not respect their confidences. In one study, clergy and church personnel were found to be greatly underutilized. Teachers and guidance counselors were sought out only in relation to quite circumscribed issues, those having to do specifically with academic performance or, often, substance abuse.[77]

Adolescents are cautious about asking for and accepting adult support, but it can make an enormous difference in their lives when they do. Being able to find an adult who is willing to help seems to be one factor that enables some children to grow up successfully despite deprived, abusive, or chaotic home lives. In an on-going study of nearly 700 Hawaiian children on the island of Kauai in 1955, one in ten of those from impoverished families with histories of multiple problems not only survived but did exceptionally well. All these individuals had recruited a "substitute parent" who was able to help them face the world with confidence. Many had very early memories of a special adult who encouraged a sense of confidence in their ability to succeed in spite of the many problems they had to overcome.[78]

Having and using social supports—knowing that people care about them and are able to offer advice, information, even money, or a safe place to stay—can be crucial to a young person's ability to assume the increasing responsibilities of adolescence. Nevertheless, in a 1987 survey of 70,000 school children in St. Louis, 64 percent of the 7-12th graders polled said that finding the help and support they need "in a life of up's and down's" was a problem. One in five teens from the highest income areas cited unavailability of help as an important difficulty, compared with one in three teens from the lowest income areas.[79]

Focus on Youth, a project of the Los Angeles Educational Partnership, practices a simple philosophy: a long-term relationship with a caring adult who has access to knowledge and services can help change a young person's life. Counselors in 19 elementary, middle, and high schools get to know students and their families, make referrals to community agencies and help out with special home or school problems. They act as parents would, making sure that students come to class, do their homework, and have the materials and the help they need. Caring—and special services—count: Between 80-90 percent of the pregnant teens who participated in Focus on Youth and who were referred to additional pregnant teen support programs graduated from high school. In one high school, students who participated in the program for three years had only a five percent dropout rate—fully thirty points less than the school-wide average.[80]

The Commission believes that it is essential to foster long-term and continuous relationships between youth and adults engaged in common endeavors. But naturally-occurring, mentoring relationships between young people and adults that allow them to share time and accomplishments are not as easily formed as they once were. Society is much more complex, jobs are more specialized, cities and towns are bigger, and social relationships are often more impersonal. As a result, many civic organizations, youth clubs, neighborhood centers, schools, and even businesses have developed special programs to build intergenerational bridges and to provide young people with both *role-models* and *mentors*. Although more research is needed to fully document their effectiveness, ***we recommend that many more mentoring programs should be developed, evaluated, and refined, especially those that involve young people in ongoing relationships based on shared purpose and mutual interest.*** **Appendix A** describes some barriers to effective mentoring programs and the solutions that promising programs have devised.

> *. . . a long-term relationship with a caring adult can change a young person's life.*

Teens at Work

Parttime work offers young people another opportunity to spend time with adults and to participate in the adult world. Three prominent commissions in the 1970s saw employment as a way to free young people from the protective isolation of school and family and to build confidence, self-esteem, and association with adults.[81] More recently, critics have contended that teen work distracts young people from school work, isolates them in a secondary labor market that teaches few positive skills, and encourages unrealistic spending habits.[82] Youth employment is also alleged to take adolescents away from their families, to reduce rather than increase educative interactions with adults, and to lessen parental authority. In our view, such conclusions are not warranted by the state of existing knowledge.

In 1985, almost 62 percent of all 16 to 19-year-olds worked during some part of the year. At least one-third of all high school students hold parttime jobs in any given week;[83] fully three-quarters of all seniors work an average of 16-20 hours per week and often earn more than $200 per month.[84]

Why do so many young people work? Most teens are *not* working to support their families. In a 1987 national survey of 16,000 high school seniors, only about five percent said they contribute most of their earnings to the household. Sixty-two percent of those planning to go to a four-year college saved part of what they made, but the majority of most youth's income was used for clothes, food, transportation, and personal items.[85]

Youth work does not significantly add to family income, but it may indirectly lessen the burden on parents who would have to pay for at least some of the items young people buy with their paychecks. Given today's high costs, $200 a month does not go very far. Even though some observers fear that teens who spend a large portion of their earnings on non-essentials will develop a taste for amenities they may not be able to satisfy when they are no longer living at home, a 1987 review of the literature on youth and work comes to a different conclusion:

> *despite what may appear to be an emphasis on the materialistic value of work, today's youth still maintain a strong work ethic and an interest in working in order to gain rewards other than just monetary, including the opportunity to meet people, make new friends, be helpful to others, and learn new skills.*[86]

Youth employment can affect both home and school. In order to find time to work, teens frequently cut back on family activities. Whether the end result is positive or negative depends largely on the pre-existing relationship between parents and youth.[87] School work can suffer when work schedules cut into class and study time.

In a survey conducted by the Pinellas County, Florida schools, 37 percent of employed high school students reported that they were occasionally too tired to go to school or fell asleep in class because of work-related fatigue. A 1984 study found that some high school students who worked more than 20 hours a week were more likely to drop out than those who didn't work at all or not as much.[88] In a 1987 study of college-bound students, those who worked more than 20 hours a week maintained a B average while those who worked fewer hours achieved B + average grades.[89]

Meaningful work experiences with adequate adult guidance can, however, contribute to improved school performance. The Work Scholarship Connection, a program developed by Wegmans, a Rochester, New York, supermarket chain in partnership with the Rochester City School District, is designed to help at-risk students finish high school. Wegmans provides part-time jobs to 14 and 15-year-olds recommended by their schools as capable but in danger of dropping out. Wegmans also adds pre-employment and follow-up workshops, mentors to provide on-the-job support, transportation on weekends, and tutors if necessary. The schools contribute individual sponsors (selected by the students) who keep tabs on the students' work and school progress and communicate regularly with both Wegmans' mentors and parents. Students agree to follow Wegmans' regulations, maintain good school and work attendance, and abstain from illegal drugs and alcohol. Those who stay in the program and finish high school are eligible for a $5,000 per year scholarship at any accredited postsecondary institution.[90]

The Commission believes that early work experience is valuable. In our view, the combination of school, work, and community service offers young people the multiple opportunities they need to develop their capacities as learners, parents, and citizens. Early work experience, even the boring and monotonous variety, teaches valuable lessons. According to Jule M. Sugarman, Secretary of the Department of Social and Health Services in the state of Washington:

> *Even the much-maligned fast food job can and does promote good work habits as well as skills in handling money and in dealing with the public. Clearly, one cannot support a family on the salary from a fast food job. But the skills, motivation and discipline that comes with it—especially if supplemented by additional education and other supports—can be the groundwork for advancing to better jobs and toward self-sufficiency.*[91]

Moderate amounts of part-time work, no more than 15 to 20 hours per week, enrich school-based learning. **We recommend that parents, teachers, and employers help teens plan reasonable work loads, monitor their progress, and share information about problems that arise.** In addition, parents and adolescents need to talk with each other to make informed decisions about part-time work. We think the following suggestions are worthy of discussion:

- Parents and school personnel can urge teenagers to limit their work hours and help them think about the trade-offs—both long-term and short-term—between working and not working and among different jobs. Schools should involve employers in group discussions of this sort.
- Adults might encourage young people to be thoughtful about the way they use their earnings—what they save, what they spend, and what they can afford to give up in favor of other pursuits.
- School guidance counselors can reassess what is learned in work-study placements and work with employers to improve the quality of placements or find substitutes.
- Adults can reassess the subtle ways family and school rules bend to accommodate teenagers' jobs and determine if those accommodations are in the best interests of everyone involved.[92]

PATHWAYS TO SUCCESS:

Recommendations

Young people want and need the support and guidance of caring adults, especially their parents. Families bear the primary responsibility to care for their children and help them grow into healthy adults and contributing citizens. But social and economic changes have increasingly challenged family effectiveness. Other institutions must do more to help families adjust to a changing world and to provide young people with opportunities to develop strong relationships with other adults. Therefore, we recommend:

- Widespread publicity by the nation's political, corporate, educational, and religious leadership of the need for families to spend time together. Creation of strategies to place family time high on the national agenda. (p. 35)
- Parenthood education, both before and after young people begin to form families of their own, and the inclusion of parenthood education and training in constructive communication as a required part of the life skill courses taught in many school and community groups. (p. 40)
- Enhanced parent involvement through school efforts to help parents and teachers better understand their mutual responsibilities and the barriers they must overcome to meet them; identification and development of new forms of parent participation better suited to working parents; the establishment of policies to ensure that parent-teacher planning is periodically reviewed and updated. (p. 36)
- Parent efforts to bridge the gap between home and school beginning in preschool and continuing through high school, by supplementing frequent telephone contact with personal visits when possible, and by making fuller use of available community resources. (p. 36)
- Vigorous state implementation of the 1984 Amendments to the Child Support Enforcement Act, the reevaluation of welfare policies that inadvertently discourage legal paternity, and greater acceptance of non-cash contributions, including childcare and participation in education and training programs, as legitimate ways to meet parental obligations. (p. 40)
- Expanded fatherhood programs that include employment and training opportunities, as well as parenting and family planning education. (p. 41)
- More aggressive private and public sector support of efforts by youth organizations, religious, and civic groups to fill the gap in after-school care for older children and adolescents with quality programs. (p. 42)
- Expanded flextime, family leave, and childcare policies and, with the leadership of senior management, the creation of a corporate climate that recognizes the parental responsibilities of both men and women employees to older children and adolescents, as well as to preschoolers. Family responsibility statements summarizing major organizational policies with regard to childcare, parental leave, work hours, transfers and relocation, job sharing, and other family-oriented policies can also be kept on file, made available to new employees, and regularly renegotiated with worker organizations. (p. 43)
- Broad-based public discussion among policymakers, labor unions, employers, and interested citizens of the pros and cons of various tax policies to support families, including an increased personal exemption and expanded Earned Income Tax and Childcare Tax credits. (p. 43)
- Many more mentoring programs in schools, churches, community agencies, and in the workplace that involve young people in ongoing relationships with adults based on shared purpose and mutual interest. (p. 45)
- Efforts by parents, teachers, and employers to help teens plan reasonable part-time work schedules, monitor their progress, and share information about problems that arise. (p. 46)

Survival without a sense of mission can indeed be the forerunner of extinction. The ultimate loser would be a society that can no longer count on the cement that keeps it from falling apart, with people scattered into myriad unrelated cells, trained but not educated, sure of individuals' special aesires and interests but ignorant of shared purposes and ideals.[1]

Chapter 3

Pathways to Success: Toward More Responsive Communities

The interplay between youth and community tells much about the development and vitality of both. Young people are simultaneously an asset to, and a responsibility of, the community, a fact insufficiently recognized in public policy. *The Commission believes that responsive communities, along with good schools and strong families, form a triad that supports youth in their passage to work and adult life.*[2] Our country has always held that good families create good communities. Now we also need to work on the reverse—that good communities help build strong families in the interests of youth.

To understand better how the youth-community connection does and does not work, this chapter examines characteristics of some communities receptive to youth, along with examples of the fruitful agendas they have designed for young people, and explores the manner in which both local and nationally-affiliated organizations serve and involve youth in the community. The record of participation for and by youth across the nation is uneven and inconsistent, but the promise, which many responsive communities and their young people are fulfilling, is enormous.

While the Commission has focused most of its research, analysis, and recommendations on the non-college-bound Forgotten Half, how young people relate to adults and how communities function for young people are issues for *all young people*. While we are hard-pressed to establish research-based evidence that commends any one strategy, we are heartened by the outpouring of effort on behalf of youth. We are convinced that the directions and programs described below are well-worth more exhaustive evaluation and possible adaptation and adoption in many local communities. Some offer developmental supports that all youth need to grow and take their place in the adult world. Others concentrate on prevention and remediation strategies that youth and families require. We know that when a society allocates energy and resources to something it considers important, it usually gets a return on its investment. We believe that society owes youth more thoughtful attention, energy, and resources.

PART ONE:

Tapping Youthful Energy and Idealism

A central premise of this chapter is that, whatever their similarities and differences, all communities can spur young people to acquire the capacities they will need as they approach and enter adulthood. Briefly summarized these are:[3]

- physical vitality—health, energy, and resilience;
- the ability to sustain caring relationships—to have a sense of one's own self-worth; to nurture family and peers and sustain the aged;
- resourcefulness—self-reliance; practical knowledge and skills; the ability to seek

and sift information and to learn and apply knowledge; experience in judgment and decision-making; and

- social connectedness—affiliations that confirm identities and establish reciprocity among, and accountability from, the young person, his/her family, friends, and community.

These are outcomes the Commission wishes for all young people, and the programs and communities we present appear to us to foster the growth of these capacities. We encourage more communities to follow suit to provide more developmental activities to all youth and preventive or remedial supports to those youth who need them.

Yet, all communities are vulnerable to disruptive economic and social forces that have made it more difficult for families, schools, and community institutions to serve youth effectively. Some youths have to rely on themselves and their peers much too early in life. The only community some young people know is the shopping mall, the gang, or the street.

Physical mobility has changed the concept of community.[4] Like adults who may associate more with colleagues at work than with neighbors, young people, too, establish friendships outside their neighborhoods based on special patterns of interest and school district busing. While the growing black middle class has integrated numerous suburban neighborhoods, it has all but destroyed the economic diversity that once characterized urban black neighborhoods.[5]

Ease of transportation gives some youth greater freedom, but also greater opportunities to get into trouble, become anonymous, or simply to drift aimlessly. Those who are not mobile—the ill, the aged, the poor, and young children—are necessarily dependent on supports in their geographic area, supports that may no longer be available in their neighborhood. In addition, the separation of work life from home life, the all-too-common segregation of young people from adults, and, in far too many cases, dangerous streets have hindered the community's day-to-day interaction with youth and its ability to support youth.

Adult Attitudes: A Stumbling Block

Although most youth professionals find it archaic, some adults unwittingly treat the young people they work with as recipients of services or as clients, rather than as resources who can help build organizations and extend services to others.[6] In part, this attitude reflects an outdated, but slow-to-change, orientation among some professionals to *do things for*, rather than *with*, people—whatever their age. Socialization is not a one-way process in which youth learn and adults teach. Academic research, the media, and public policy are also partly responsible. An 80-year emphasis on the "problems of adolescence" may well have obscured the many abilities of real *adolescents* and added to the stereotyped view of youth as more often than not "in trouble."[7] Often seen as incompetent or requiring adult intervention, young people seldom get the chance to show what they can do and to say what they think. One result is that some turn their considerable energy and organizational skills in directions threatening to others, toward gangs, as one example.

Whether or not adults underestimate or disparage young people, young people *think* they do. In one poll, nearly three-fourths of Minnesota teens thought that four different groups of adults—police, senior citizens, parents, and teachers—held negative views of them. When high school students in the Chicago area were asked what image they thought people have of teenagers, a dismaying 97 percent agreed with Minneapolis' teens. Happily, these same surveys revealed that most youth reject as false the negative images they believe many adults apply to them. But the danger is that some young people may also distance

> *The deepest hunger in humans is the desire to be appreciated.*
>
> — William James (1842-1910)

themselves from the adults whom they assume think ill of them and, in so doing, miss out on the very adult supports they may need.[8]

At the core of the relationship between youth and adults lies a tension between the young person's need to experiment and to take risks and the adult's efforts to keep them from making mistakes. Yet, for young people, developing responsibility is partly an experience of having the chance to make mistakes from which they may learn powerful lessons. Keeping this tension in a delicate balance, allowing young people to grow in their capacity to be responsible without over-protecting them, is a difficult obligation that adults must assume.

William Lofquist, an expert on youth issues, argues that even programs that focus on prevention rather than remediation can subtly assume the worst about young people, instead of the best. "Prevention" can imply that, unless "prevented," the natural path of adolescence is toward pathology rather than toward health.[9] Sometimes the best-intentioned efforts can send the wrong signals. *Adults need to show their confidence in young people, as well as concern for their well-being.*

While many youth have adapted to community and family changes and have circumvented negative adult attitudes to find success in school, work, and starting families, many other young people are crying out for recognition of their problems and fears. The persistent dropout rate, the still-too-high incidence of youth suicide, the rate of early unplanned pregnancies,[12] and the general sense of ennui that some youth project indicate dramatically that all is not well with them. No magic can generate an environment in which young people can flourish. *Creating nurturing community environments requires patience, planning, commitment, and cooperation among the agencies and institutions that serve youth.* Oregon and Indiana, Pinellas County, Florida, and cities such as Seattle, St. Louis, Minneapolis, and Boston, demonstrate that promising initiatives are possible *if* community leaders exert the will, commitment, and resources required.

Youth As Community Assets

Youth can help build the kind of communities we all want and need. If trusted and respected, young people readily learn to evaluate situations, make decisions, and solve problems—skills that people need in everyday life and employers look for in their workers. Youth then develop not only a sense of belonging and a strong ethic of responsibility, but also an understanding that they are accountable to themselves, their families, and their communities.

> *American society overlooks a vital resource, specifically, that the intelligence, idealism, and energies of youth can be tapped to strengthen the democratic process.*[13]

The European experience is instructive. Policies in many western European countries acknowledge the existence of youth problems but focus positively on overall youth development. Among many European governments' fairly comprehensive initiatives, overcoming problems is only part of making a successful transition to adulthood.[10] The Norwegian Ministry of Culture, for example, is highly responsive to youth-initiated proposals and links its funded programs for youth to constructive adult activities, rather than the treatment of problems. Free of the stigma attached to remedial or problem-centered efforts, about 90 percent of Norwegian youth participate in youth organizations.[11]

Seattle, Washington, is relearning the value of this interdependent relationship. Recognizing that young people represented its future, and that the city experienced a 36 percent decline in the number of its youth in the 1970s, the citizens of Seattle took steps to reverse the trend. Their first step was to listen to the city's youth.

Seattle asked its youth what they thought and what they needed and then asked them to help formulate a youth agenda. A prototype of a youth-oriented community willing to act decisively, KidsPlace Seattle, (the name was selected by Seattle's children and youth) developed a KidsPlace Action Agenda in 1986 that included 31 measurable steps to be implemented by 1990. The steps are assessed yearly to determine progress toward goals. Youth are actively involved in identifying and planning how to address these concerns: leadership, health services, safety, schooling, cultural activities, and transportation.[14]

As part of the comprehensive Boston Plan for Excellence, the School and the Neighborhood Project of Boston Youth as Resources underscores its trust in youth by channeling funds to groups of students who, with adult support and supervision, make grants to deserving neighborhood projects. The grantees raise monies for projects and receive matching funds. One such project, the Fenway Program, cleans up Boston's Harbor Island and serves meals to residents of a shelter for homeless women. Another program, Teens Unlimited, addresses teen issues in a community newsletter.[15] The evidence, to be compiled by Northeastern

> *We believe the children are the future. . .teach them well and let them lead the way. . .show them all the beauty they possess inside. . .give them a sense of pride. . .let the children's laughter remind us how we used to be.*
>
> — Song by George Benson

Seattle's "child advocate" program—one of the 31 steps—successfully lobbied for the establishment of a 20-member Seattle Commission on Children and Youth responsible for services and programs to benefit youth.[15] Another Agenda objective is to make downtown Seattle "kid-friendly." Cooperating businesses place "Downtown: A Safe Place" stickers in their windows. Youth helped to plan an urban walkway lined with activities and information that not only connects downtown buildings, stores, and parks, but connects youth to their city. Adults in Seattle report that young participants have developed more positive civic attitudes because of KidsPlace. St. Louis, San Diego, and San Francisco are not far behind in translating the KidsPlace concept to their particular circumstances.

While success is never foreordained, the outcomes in other cities and countries that have devoted themselves to youth initiatives over the past 20-25 years demonstrate an upsurge in youth and adult creativity, productivity, and civic participation, according to Dr. Robert Aldrich, a pediatrician at the University of Washington and a researcher in international youth participation.

University in an upcoming evaluation, supports important individual successes in the lives of 200 young people. The director reports that the story of one young man, who came into the program two years ago without any direction in his life and now has a four-year scholarship to Boston University, is common. These projects give young people a chance to gain self-esteem, practice leadership, and direct their lives positively.

In three cities in Indiana, the Lilly Endowment and National Crime Prevention Council sponsor a Youth as Resources demonstration project in which young people help make their neighborhoods and communities safer and more livable. Each site received nearly $200,000 to establish a total of 50 programs by 1989 in Evansville, Indianapolis, and Fort Wayne. With these grants, ranging from $500 to $5,000, non-profit agencies, churches, schools, and other groups sponsor projects planned and implemented by young people. These youth-managed activities improve the quality of community life: repairing playground equipment, assisting the elderly, writing and performing plays about youth problems, tutoring at youth detention centers, volunteering at local food and clothing

banks, and helping children living in shelters for battered women.[17]

At the state level, Oregon has been a pioneer since 1983 through its establishment of a Youth Coordinating Council (YCC) consisting of representatives from both state agencies and local youth-serving systems. Directed primarily to teen parents, offenders, dropouts, and minority groups, YCC provides seed money to local service-providers for "improved, coordinated local demonstration programs, the dissemination and adoption of successful programs and program elements, and the development of policy recommendations for the state." In spring 1988, Governor Neil Goldschmidt announced a statewide Children's Agenda and encouraged cities and communities to establish Children's Task Forces to inventory services and to recommend local and state actions.[18]

Young people who are treated and valued as resources and who participate in school and community programs tend to do better in life and in school, as these research findings attest:

- Students in grades 10-12, who taught younger children, improved on tests of ego and moral development. This often-overlooked practice not only enhanced the young teachers' academic prowess, but also gave them a chance to perform an adult role.[19]
- Participation in youth organization work spurred members to read the newspaper and to understand the importance of working to correct social inequities.[20]
- Several studies found that adolescent participation in school extracurricular and community-based youth activities led to membership as adults in voluntary organizations and to political activity.[21]

A new research effort by the Lilly Endowment expects to fortify these findings and to examine more fully what happens to youth when they participate in organized environments that emphasize empathy, altruism, commitment, and other caring social concerns. The research seeks to determine which activities best ensure these outcomes.[22]

Unquestionably, young people can bring a fresh, uncluttered perspective to old problems. When they help make decisions that have real consequences, they learn to respect other viewpoints and value negotiation and compromise. Community activities can give young people many opportunities that too seldom occur in formal schooling.

Building Supportive Communities

Multiple supports strengthen and guide the energies of youth and help them walk a steady path toward starting work, entering adult civic life, and becoming parents. Through associations with friends, families, teachers, employers, neighborhood business people, and others, young people gain vital emotional supports. For example, structuring community events and celebrations can help youth feel a sense of connectedness.[24] Seattle KidsDay, begun in 1985 as a part of the International Children's Festival, has grown into Kids Week. The entire city celebrates with activities designed expressly for youth. Youth anywhere can help plan activities in which they participate in programs with younger children: story hours at the library, coaching little league teams, or teaching art or music. Since the shopping mall has become a drawing card for young people, some communities design activities and programs that function in that setting—youth art shows, career fairs, youth concerts—making the mall the new village green. As a result of community efforts for St. Louis youth and a request from the downtown mall manager, KidsPlace and the St. Louis Centre actively involve youth in planning solutions instead of treating young people as problems.

> *The term community should be defined not only as a region to be served but also as a climate to be created.*[23]

Young people benefit, too, from mentoring programs (described in Chapter 2 and **Appendix A**), as well as through participation in self-help groups (reportedly expanding at a rate of eight percent annually) to help guide them through difficult family, emotional, or substance abuse crises.[25] For some young people, tangible supports—food, housing, and other services—beyond those the immediate family may be able to provide come from other families or organizations. Such often overlooked supports as safe rides and safe houses may be equally necessary to help youth overcome obstacles that loom large.

The Commission recommends that communities foster youth activities that concentrate on the developmental needs of all youth, that respond to the opinions and ideas of youth, and that involve youth in their planning and implementation.

Informal and formal supports in families, schools, and communities all aid young people in developing a "community of memory," a place where they can hang their emotional hats. A community of memory is a shared history of a family, a community, or a country. Communities of memory:

> *tie us to the past and turn us toward the future. [They are] communities of hope. They carry a context of meaning that can allow us to connect our aspirations for ourselves and those closest to us with the aspirations of a larger whole and see our own efforts as being, in part, contributions to a common good.*[26]

When families and communities are involved in an honest retelling of the collective history of their families, communities, and nation, they help young people use their collective past and energy to move into the future.[27] Communities of memory are found in ethnic or racial communities, religious groups, neighborhoods, schools, and community organizations. There is a national community of memory. People growing up in communities of memory not only hear the stories but the hopes and fears of exemplary, as well as ordinary people, who helped their community arrive at this place in time.

When young people create and participate in rituals that engender loyalty and allow them to practice commitment by joining in family reunions and community celebrations and ceremonies, they add to and recreate a community of memory.[28] When young people come to see themselves as constructing history on a daily basis and, in doing so, affect the well-being of themselves and others, they will have taken a long step toward becoming ethical persons connected to their families and their communities. They will be on the road to fully participating citizenship.[29]

The Commission has noted the importance of rituals that mark critical passages in the lives of young people. *We believe that ceremonies that initiate young people into responsible roles in life make eminent good sense, particularly when they help youth recognize the benefits they have received, or will receive, from the school, the community, the employer, and the nation and when, in turn, they pledge to return something of value.* The well-established pledges of many youth organizations could be reinforced and extended by pledges, ceremonies, logos, or songs in other national or community-based organizations.

The Commission recommends that schools, communities, employers, and youth organizations consider the value of developing their own codes and credos, accompanied by induction, mid-course, or graduation ceremonies which in themselves become an important part of the educational and civic purpose of the program. (**Appendix C** contains several examples of ceremonial recognitions of such mutual obligations.) When participating youth have a large role in devising these codes and credos, they can be even more powerful tools for citizenship development. Such pledges and other acts help build team play and carry real meaning, including "moral instruction in traditional values," for both youth and the adults in their lives: parents, teachers, employers, and friends.

Youth and Community Safety

The Commission recognizes that an unsafe community cannot be a responsive community. Frequently, the incidence of crime and the lack of work are inextricably linked. Without safe communities and job opportunities, young people stumble along an often risky path to adulthood. Young people are powerfully aware of these facts. In a St. Louis youth poll, a broad cross-section reported safety as their number one concern. Often falsely considered the perpetrators of crime, youth comprise the largest group of *victims*, both in their homes and in their communities.[31] Adults, especially the elderly, fear youthful criminals even though young people are 10-12 times more likely than persons over age 65 to be victims of violent crime.[32] One telling example: Homicide is the second leading cause of death for all 15-24-year-olds.[33]

> *By disrupting the delicate nexus of ties, formal and informal, by which we are linked with our neighbors, crime atomizes society and makes its members mere individuals.*[30]

Unfortunately, indiscriminate urban violence is not uncommon. A *Wall Street Journal* article describing the day-to-day violence in the life of Lafayette Walton as he dodged gunshots in his Chicago neighborhood shocked the country for a few days.[34] Violence, however, much of it connected to drug-related crime, is an everyday experience for the nation's low-income black population, especially women and families, says William T. Grant Commissioner Byllye Avery, Director of the National Black Women's Health Project in Atlanta. Women and their children are virtually held hostage in their homes by fear of crime. Physical threat sets up an undercurrent of fear that can tear a community apart. When young people must navigate a course of verbal or physical abuse on their way to the corner store, or when students going to school in East Los Angeles, for example, are taunted by gangs of dropouts, the entire community is assaulted.

In some cases, gangs serve as an alternate form of bonding and can offer protection in unsafe communities.[35] A study of a Chicago gang yielded these conclusions: (1) members functioned in a kind of limbo—neither cut off from nor integrated into the adult world, and neither accepting nor being accepted by adult authority; (2) in the case of Latino gangs, the concept of honor accounts for the gang's complex relationship to parents and other community members; and (3) the most sensible approach for families and the neighborhood is to maintain a relationship of mutual toleration and engage in negotiations that allow community life to proceed.[36] While several cities have instituted "street workers" to patrol communities and mediate impending conflicts between gangs, no one successful strategy has emerged.

Increasing gang violence threatens some inner city neighborhoods. Inter-gang violence has always been common, but gangs have typically looked with disfavor upon members whose crimes attracted police attention.[37] The drug economy, however, is changing the character of gang activity.[38] The availability of quick money from drugs, coupled with increasing unemployment, has set the stage for growing crime and violence. Even parents close their eyes as their gang-member sons pay the rent with drug money.[39]

The issue of drugs and drug-related crime crosses class and racial boundaries. According to annual surveys of high school seniors, drug use peaked in the late 1970s but, with the exception of cocaine, diminished significantly between 1980 and 1985. Drug use has continued to fall since then, including cocaine use which, in 1987, showed its first decline in more than a decade. The latest results report that 15.2 percent of high school seniors have ever used cocaine, down from 16.9 percent in 1986.[40] However, the actual incidence—and intensity—of overall teen drug use may be higher than these surveys suggest. Because reports exclude young people who are not in school, young people living in institutions, the homeless, and runaways, they offer an incomplete picture of adolescent involvement with drugs. A 1985 survey of institutionalized delinquents in Washington state revealed that, while an average of three years younger than the national sample of high school seniors surveyed in the same year, these institutionalized young people had higher rates of use for all illicit drugs except alcohol.[41] Unquestionably, the prevalence of drugs, the crimes committed to acquire them, and the attractiveness of quick money have changed the American social fabric, particularly for young people.

The incidence of rising addiction due to crack, a cocaine derivative, is common in

inner-city neighborhoods, as well as in the middle class. A recent survey of offenders arrested in a Washington, DC police sting operation produced surprising results—80 percent of those arrested were employed, first-time offenders using or dealing crack.[42] Researchers are also not sure why women are more susceptible to crack addiction. Young mothers in low-income neighborhoods, who have managed to ward off other destructive influences to themselves and their families, are falling prey to crack in increasing numbers, making the lives of their children even more tenuous.[43] While the actual percentage of youth involvement in drugs is small, the total community effect is not. Drug use and criminal behavior often occur simultaneously and endanger community safety.[44] *The Commission believes that drug prevention programs must be part of larger comprehensive efforts to promote youth health and safety.* These programs will have a greater chance of success if they address the underlying problems that can result in involvement with both drugs and crime. Increased state and local efforts to collect criminal justice data in a form accessible to researchers and administrators of programs that confront crime against youth and crime by youth will aid these efforts.[45]

We concur with the Vera Institute of Justice in New York that *the best deterrent to crime, especially for 18-24-year-olds, is legitimate employment.*[46] In addition, the Commission reiterates that each community must provide youth with working parents a safe place to be when they are not in school and to provide developmental activities for all youth. (See Chapter 2 for detailed discussion.) Many communities with crime prevention programs are establishing neighborhood "safe houses" where at-home adult volunteers welcome children who feel lonely or afraid. Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, California, has called for a citywide commitment to after-school care, funded through the City's Redevelopment Agency, for all Los Angeles elementary school children.[47]

Many organizations and programs grapple with the issue of safe places for children and youth—how they can be kept from becoming victims or perpetrators of crime and how they can help build safer neighborhoods. St. Louis' KidsPlace has combined with two pediatric hospitals and the Safety Council of Greater St. Louis to launch a public awareness initiative tied to the national "SAFE KIDS Are No Accident" campaign. Two inner-city youth who attend a health care magnet school sit on a board with pediatricians and safety officials to plan for a safe St. Louis.

Throughout the nation, the National Crime Prevention Council (NCPC) works with the schools, city governments, youth-serving organizations, and community foundations to increase awareness of how crime affects youth and their communities and conducts programs in youth employment training, neighborhood beautification, and safety awareness for youth. In Baltimore, Cleveland, and St. Louis, the Security Education Employment Program, for example, trains youth as security guards.

A national NCPC curriculum, *Teens, Crime, and the Community*, is available for use in local school systems and community-based organizations.[48] This program, sponsored by local bar associations and university law professors, reached 25,000 students in 19 cities in 1987-88, including Knoxville, Tennessee; St. Louis, Missouri; and Flint, Michigan. The experience of lawyers coming to the classroom with a curriculum that youth "can get their teeth into" has changed attitudes and behaviors and turns the abstraction of regular civics and government lessons into reality for young people. Many students who completed the Knoxville course have joined other crime prevention activities. The mayor and council took their suggestion to begin a crime prevention month and a victims' rights week—both of which generated additional youth involvement. Surveys conducted in the cities that use *Teens, Crime, and Community* indicate that participating students report that they avoid committing crimes and help others to avoid crime.[49]

An extensive program of law-related education, including street law courses developed and staffed through the National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law, trains youth in the legal aspects of personal and neighborhood safety. In an evaluation, young people participating in law-related education were less likely than the control group to engage in eight of ten categories of delinquent behavior, ranging from truancy and cheating to abuse and felonies.[50]

Youth Crime Watch, a program in Dade County, Florida, takes the neighborhood watch program into the schools. The decrease in reported crimes from 1981-1986 is characteristic of similar programs: assaults on staff were down 26 percent, robberies down 34.5 percent, sexual offenses reduced by 34 percent, and incidents involving drugs decreased by 29.6 percent.[51]

Knoxville and Dade County programs have a constellation of attributes that bode well

for a change in young people's behaviors and attitudes and an improved community climate: relationships between adults and young people in which youth are trusted, adequate resources from concerned adults, responsibilities that are clearly spelled out and shared, and rewards for individuals, groups, and the community.

These same elements are characteristics of 200 mediation training programs for adults and young people currently functioning in elementary and secondary schools and community organizations throughout the country. With approximately 5,000 teachers and 282,000 students assaulted in schools in 1987, the initial objective of all mediation programs is to resolve potentially violent interpersonal conflicts.

Started in 1977, the Community Boards of San Francisco operates 22 neighborhood centers and trains community members not only to mediate but also to seek out cases, perform intake and follow-up, and participate in training, management, and evaluation. The Community Boards used their success in the community to begin 160 school-based programs in 1981, which included conflict resolution courses in high schools and classroom meetings and trained conflict managers in elementary and high school. Administrators report a 65 percent decrease in time spent on discipline.

Typically, these programs, assisted by the National Association for Mediation in Education, use on-site paid mediator-trainers and community volunteers, teachers, and students (often called student conflict managers) trained as mediators to solve both in- and out-of-school problems. New York City schools—which spent $140 million on safety in 1986, including funds for 2,100 security personnel—report that mediation training helped reduce fight-related suspensions by 46-70 percent in the nine schools in which it is used.[52] Wakefield Junior High School in Tucson, Arizona, a school in which suspension for fighting increased 21 percent from 1982-1986, implemented a mediation program in 1986-87. The result was a 47 percent decrease in referrals for fighting. Former "troublemakers" were successfully trained as peer mediators. The Center for Dispute Settlement in Washington, DC, initiated Students Helping with Alternative Resolution Programs (SHARP) in 1986 at Coolidge High School. During that year, 75 potentially suspended students used mediation and did not miss school. Teachers demonstrated their confidence in the program by participating in 15 mediations between teachers and students, and the principal supported use of class time for mediation sessions and mediation training.

Young people who participate as peer mediators and students who come for mediation demonstrate changed attitudes. Students, particularly those termed "at-risk" for fighting and possible suspension who do not participate, however, maintain aggressive attitudes toward problem-solving. Adopting mediation as a school's guiding principle is not sufficient to change behaviors; students must learn and practice the steps of conflict-management.[53]

Certain data for these programs are readily quantified: fewer fights, less crime, more participation. The long-term effects on community safety and citizenship are not as easily documented. However, reports indicate that involved youth are more likely to view themselves as a vital link to community safety. Youth who study the law and practice conflict resolution are more likely to gain experience in making judgments and decisions and reduce their own incidence of fighting and crime. Crime prevention activities offer young people avenues of participation as well as a way to bond to the social values of our society. ***The Commission recommends that individual communities tackle the critical question of community safety by involving youth in local crime prevention activities, including projects that improve the physical appearance of the community, appointing youth to serve on local adult community boards that address community safety, and incorporating law-related curriculum and mediation training in schools, youth organizations, and programs that serve young people.***

Mobilizing the Public Will

Everyone has to get involved in successful youth programs—youth, mayors, council members, community leaders, foundations, churches, youth-serving and neighborhood organizations, unions, businesses, schools and universities—and the top leadership in each of these must take the initiative. Successful efforts on behalf of youth will last only if those in positions of authority and influence give sustained support to youth programs that effectively address the needs of the community's children and young people. "We will never have effective leadership in our cities until we persuade the ablest and most influential members of the community that they must take personal responsibility for what happens to their city," writes John W. Gardner.[55]

In the face of increasing youth and family needs and a $30 billion decrease in direct government grants to non-hospital charities between 1982 and 1987, foundations have been inundated with a six-fold increase in proposals, particularly for childcare, health, and jobs. The 92.2 percent rise in charitable giving made up for only 63 percent of the decrease in federal funds.[56] Local community foundations have been forced to reexamine their traditional funding priorities and strategies.[57] Not content to serve as conduits of money from individuals to some few respected and successful community activities, several foundations with long-term resources provide seed money to programs that research demonstrates as useful, and they persist in that support until change is evident.[58] While foundations should set long-term agendas, funding requirements can be designed to accommodate unexpected and creative new approaches.[59]

leverage scarce resources. In a Ford Foundation survey of 47 community foundations, 80 percent made such "program-related investments."

Similarly, churches have a vital role to play. *Churches and synagogues are the original community-based institutions and, at their best, they join together young people, their parents, and a community of mutually supportive families within a larger moral and spiritual framework.* Although many adolescents pull away from church youth groups, others are sustained by traditional youth group services and activities—avenues of youth contribution to the community. Churches also have physical space—already a haven to many youth trapped in overcrowded environments, and a possible resource for more. Churches are an integral part of community efforts to ensure that all children and youth have safe and stimulating places to be before and after school.

> *Too often the citizen active in community affairs is essentially a dabbler, never getting in deep enough to have any effect; never getting far enough below the surface to understand how the machinery works in whatever activity he is trying to change; just lingering long enough to sign the committee report, not staying long enough to see what the consequences of the report are.*
>
> — John W. Gardner[44]

One foundation attempting to respond to these changes and focus on an area of need is the New York Women's Foundation, established in 1987 as a cross-cultural alliance of all classes of women in New York. With donations ranging from $10 to $250,000, this foundation has committed itself to the unmet needs of women and their families, by supporting activities like the Networking Project for Disabled Women and Girls and the Center for the Elimination of Family Violence, and actively recruiting cross-class and cross-cultural members for its board.[60]

Other foundations loan money to non-profits at below market value—a strategy to

The Congress of National Black Churches is piloting Project Spirit, which stands for Strength, Perseverance, Imagination, Responsibility, Integrity, and Talent, in three urban black churches: Oakland, Indianapolis, and Atlanta. Young people enroll in an after-school program to learn academic and life skills and to enjoy the fellowship of others. A companion program provides a parent education class. Additionally, ministers are trained to counsel families in their churches.[61] We applaud those many church leaders, especially in troubled urban areas, who are devising new ways to better gird young people against antisocial forces and help them on the path to adulthood.

Financing Youth Services

The majority of youth programs, outside the schools and public agencies that deal with particular problems, rely on privately-funded, voluntary support. Understandably protective of their resources and autonomy, these agencies have all they can do to meet what are often single-issue mandates. Few are able to provide coordination and comprehensive services backed by adequate financial resources that community problems require.

In contrast, Pinellas County, Florida offers a well-planned, long-tested, and coordinated approach to financing youth programs. Stimulated by a juvenile court judge, who deplored the county's severe lack of services for children and who shared his concerns with the community, an attorney drafted a bill to create a tax-supported board to safeguard the rights and serve the needs of children. The Pinellas County Juvenile Welfare Board was established in 1945 as a *special, independent taxing district of local government* in the county with 80 percent voter approval. A recent survey found that this support level has held: 84 percent of Pinellas' voters—characterized by a large elderly population —approved the Board's work on behalf of children and youth in a 1987 vote. The special .4348 mil levy (about 44 cents per thousand dollars of assessed valuation) collects about $8.4 million annually for children's and youth services.

The Juvenile Welfare Board functions more like an independent, non-profit corporation than an agency of government and encourages community involvement and comprehensive service delivery through seven Youth Services Advisory Committees. The Board provides no direct services but, instead, contracts with public and private voluntary youth agencies. Approved projects must provide at least one measurable outcome objective as well as a defined degree of client satisfaction. A community planning process identifies gaps in youth services and places priority on funding projects that address deficiencies and expands existing services. Last year, 37 different voluntary and public agencies, funded totally or partially by the Juvenile Welfare Board, operated 67 programs serving children and parents in 22,000 families.

A funding mechanism of this type:

- establishes youth issues as community priorities and responds to local needs;
- provides a predictable resource and reduces competition for funding among youth-serving agencies;
- provides a flexible and accountable system of contracting services;
- uses organizational energy for program delivery, rather than for raising money;
- provides risk capital for innovative programs; and
- eliminates competition between youth needs and other claims on scarce tax dollars.[62]

The Board takes positions on public policy, conducts advocacy campaigns, and funds a range of counseling, community planning, problem-solving, and coordination services, as well as new program development, ongoing needs assessment, technical assistance, training, and a library/audio-visual center specializing in materials related to family and child services. By 1990, based on a 1986 needs assessment, the Board will offer comprehensive services for all the county's children and families. One goal, for example, is to increase the number of licensed preschool workers by 500 and to add 800 preschool placements.

Juvenile Welfare Board funds supported the following services in 1986-87: temporary placement for 945 abused or neglected children; in-home respite care for 169 families who have children with disabilities; 491 adults and 391 children in spouse abuse shelters; 221 older adolescents in group homes; 367 women trained in life skills and personal supports; 316 families received family conciliation services; 1,942 families served in various prevention and treatment programs that provide comprehensive education, health, and support services; 258 middle school at-risk adolescents served by tutoring and counseling services. Pinellas Village, based on a Denver program that reduced the percentage of families on AFDC in a target population from 65 to six percent, is designed to produce similar outcomes. It is a model community program of housing and comprehensive family service with the central objective of breaking the cycle of poverty for single, motivated mothers.

Alternative Human Services of Pinellas and Pasco Counties in Florida receives 42 percent of its budget from the Juvenile Welfare Board tax. It provides a 24-hour hotline as well as a "Parent Talk" line with 32 tapes on topics of parent concern. The hotline maintains a data base of 600 social service agencies that provide more than 5,000 services as well as a list of 100 support groups in both counties. In FY 1986-87, the hotline received 55,060 calls.[63]

After the Florida legislature voted to enable all counties to establish juvenile welfare boards, Palm Beach County followed Pinellas County's lead in 1986 and established its own taxing authority for youth services. Other states could follow Florida's example and permit their local jurisdictions to establish similar taxing authorities.[64]

In 1984, California taxpayers voluntarily contributed $804,362 from their tax refunds to a special trust fund for abused children. In Missouri, an active promotional campaign supports donations to that state's Children's Trust Fund which received $135,000 from its tax checkoff and voluntary contributions. While the idea of voluntary contributions is attractive, youth programs will benefit most from a stable source of support that taxation alone can provide.

Jule Sugarman, a leading creator and manager of children and youth programs and the Secretary of Social and Health Services of the state of Washington, has proposed a new national trust fund, the Children's Trust Fund, to parallel the Old Age Survivors and Disability Insurance (OASDI) Trust Fund. Sugarman's idea is based on these rationales: (1) children and youth are vulnerable; (2) supporting such funding would be a long-term help to business and society by increasing the number of young people who become productive adults; (3) the public would have confidence that revenues would be used for purposes of which it approves; and (4) tapping the broad wages and earnings base permits raising a great deal of money with a relatively low tax rate.

The proposed Trust Fund would be financed by equal percentage payroll taxes from employers and employees. Sugarman estimates that by the fifth year, a 0.3 percent deduction would yield $19.6 billion annually for the Trust. Funds could be used by existing programs benefitting children and families and could be applied to new youth programs as well. A portion of the Trust Fund's income would be allocated according to the percentage of youth population in each state and would be earmarked for child welfare, child support and establishment of paternity, foster care and adoption, maternal and child health services, selected Medicaid services to parents and children, and block grants to states for social services.[65] In addition, some funds would be appropriated directly to other programs, such as education of the disadvantaged, runaway and homeless youth, drug, alcohol, and mental health services.

The Commission urges local, state, and federal exploration and debate about the merits of innovative financing mechanisms, including trust funds, special purpose bonds, and levies to meet young people's developmental needs, offer preventive services, and respond to specific youth problems.

Not only do local and state governments need to consider new financing mechanisms, they also need to examine ways to use existing monies better. In 1985, Los Angeles County—where one of every 20 children in the US live and which spends $2 billion yearly on children and youth—decided that a comprehensive look at its children's budget would be beneficial. The Los Angeles Roundtable for Children proposed a coordinated system for planning, funding, and delivery of children's services.[66] The Roundtable project analyzed money spent on children's programs, assembled different pieces of the budget puzzle from 17 different county departments, and identified funding sources and partnerships of federal, state, and local sources. 1988 updates on the Los Angeles effort report not-so-surprising findings that overlaps in spending and management of services could be streamlined. This Los Angeles County look at children and youth resources as a whole, rather than in pieces, is a long-term, but promising, integrated planning effort to use existing resources more sensibly. In similar fashion, *the Commission urges cities, counties, and states to analyze and effectively use their present budgets to meet the total needs of children and youth.*

Action-Oriented Data Collection and Analysis

National reports on young people provide an insufficient profile of needs and are inadequate planning tools for local government. The Foundation for Child Development funded the first State of the Child Report in New York City and encouraged six other cities to develop their own. Since 1976, 28 states have issued similar documents. Recent efforts in Illinois, New York, Connecticut, and California to develop comprehensive State of the Child reports present models for other jurisdictions. Such reports provide much-needed detail on the age, sex, race, and ethnicity of children, where they live, the composition of their families, economic situation, experiences in care away from home, and facts on their health, the violence in their lives, the nature of their attachment to school and to work, and the character of the communities in which they live. These reports are designed to provide credible and accessible reference documents for service providers, community groups, academics, journalists, government officials, and other

Kids Survey: St. Louis

— for area students in grades 3-6 —

St. Louis is a big community made up of many different places and many different people.
Children are a very important part of the community. Mayor Schoemehl, County Executive McNary, and other leaders of the city and county want to make sure that kids can have a good life here.

This survey is being conducted by an organization called "KidsPlace." We think that kids should have a chance to express their ideas about St. Louis. Children from all over the area are being asked to answer the questions on this paper. When the survey is finished, we will write a report about the ideas that the children expressed. We will share this report with leaders is St. Louis so that we can all work together to make our community a better place.

The questions are not difficult. Please give your honest opinions. No one has to put a name on this paper. There are no right or wrong answers. The best answers will be the ones that describe what you think.

First, here are some questions about **PLACES** _____

1. Where do you usually go to spend freetime on week-ends or weekdays after school? Please choose the two (2) places from the list below that best describe where you usually go. If you want to write down the name of a place that is not on the list, please use the line that says "other." 7–8

- ☐ -1 recreation center
- ☐ -2 neighborhood park or sports field
- ☐ -3 mall, shopping center, fast-food places
- ☐ -4 video acarde or movie theater
- ☐ -5 library
- ☐ -7 afterschool program
- ☐ -8 home or friend's house
- ☐ -9 organized club or group activity
- ☐ -10 museum or science center
- ☐ -11 other _____

2. What is it about the places your chose in #1 that makes them enjoyable? Please select two (2) answers, just as you did before. 9–10

- ☐ -1 people there are helpful
- ☐ -2 lots of other kids there
- ☐ -3 great things to do there
- ☐ -4 interesting things to learn there
- ☐ -5 quiet and peaceful
- ☐ -6 familiar and comfortable
- ☐ -7 good music and atmosphere
- ☐ -8 good supervision
- ☐ -9 easy to get around there
- ☐ -10 other _____

3. Think about a specific place in your community where you would like to go, but you don't. What is it about that place that makes you stay away? Select two (2) answers. 11–12

- ☐ -1 people there do not seem to care about kids
- ☐ -2 too strict there
- ☐ -3 too much crime in that area
- ☐ -4 too noisy and crowded
- ☐ -5 too dark and deserted
- ☐ -6 too broken down and dirty
- ☐ -7 costs too much money
- ☐ -8 none of my friends want to go there
- ☐ -9 too hard to figure out how to get around there
- ☐ -10 other _____

4. A lot of kids like to walk together or ride their bikes to places where they can do fun stuff with their friends. What kinds of places would make your community better for you and your friends? Please make two (2) choices.

- ☐ -1 a park
- ☐ -2 a swimming pool
- ☐ -3 a gym or other indoor places to play
- ☐ -4 a place to get snacks and talk with other kids
- ☐ -5 places for groups of kids to have meetings or clubs
- ☐ -6 fields for organized sports
- ☐ -7 safer places to walk or ride bikes
- ☐ -8 a science center or other learning center
- ☐ -9 other _____

Now, here are some questions about **PEOPLE** _____

5. Kids spend a lot of time in school. If you could make two (2) changes in your school, what improvements would you pick?

- ☐ -1 better buildings
- ☐ -2 more equipment
- ☐ -3 safer halls and playgrounds
- ☐ -4 better teachers
- ☐ -5 less pressure to get good grades
- ☐ -6 more chances to learn
- ☐ -7 more activities outside the classroom
- ☐ -8 fewer disruptions in the classroom
- ☐ -9 other _____

6. Sometimes parents can't be at home to take care of their children right after school. What do you think would help kids during the time after school when they can't be with a parent? Please select two (2). 26

- ☐ -1 planned activities in the school building
- ☐ -2 recreation or sports in churches, community centers, or parks
- ☐ -3 afterschool programs in the neighborhood
- ☐ -4 someone to call on the phone with questions when kids are home alone
- ☐ -5 a safe place for kids to go if they are afraid
- ☐ -6 ideas about how to take care of yourself after school
- ☐ -7 other _____

7. Everybody wants to be healthy and safe. When you have questions about good health and safety, what do you wonder about the most? Please choose two (2) 27

- ☐ -1 smoking cigarettes
- ☐ -2 using alcohol and drugs
- ☐ -3 understanding about your body and how it is changing
- ☐ -4 kids having accidents
- ☐ -5 people hurting each other
- ☐ -6 kids and grown-ups getting along with each other better
- ☐ -7 kids feeling sad or confused about things
- ☐ -8 other _____

8. Life is full of UPS and DOWNS. When you have problems and need to talk to someone, where do you go? Select two (2) answers. 28

- ☐ -1 to parents
- ☐ -2 to brothers or sisters
- ☐ -3 to a minister, priest, or rabbi
- ☐ -4 to a doctor
- ☐ -5 to a teacher or counselor at school
- ☐ -6 to a caring adult friend
- ☐ -7 to friends your own age
- ☐ -8 read books or watch tv shows that talk about problems kids experience
- ☐ -9 other _____

Here are some short questions that will help us when we are adding up the survey results.

9. How old are you? _____ 31–32

10. What grade are you in? _____ 33–34

11. What is the survey number assigned to your school? _____ 35–36

12. Are you a ☐ -1 girl or ☐ -2 boy? 37

13. Are you ☐ -1 Asian American, ☐ -2 Black, ☐ -3 Hispanic, ☐ -4 White, or ☐ -5 other racial or ethnic group? 38

14. What is your home ZIP code? _____ 39–43

BUILDING A BETTER COMMUNITY _____

15. Please pretend for a minute that you are a special assistant to the leaders of the city and county. They have told you that they want St. Louis to be a great community, and they want your advice. The leaders have asked you to make a list for them of the THREE (3) things about our community that you think need the most improvement. What would your list look like? 44–45

- ☐ -1 safe streets, buildings, and parks
- ☐ -2 suitable houses and apartments for families
- ☐ -3 caring families
- ☐ -4 healthy people
- ☐ -5 good schools
- ☐ -6 useful kinds of transportation
- ☐ -7 help for people who are having problems
- ☐ -8 job and career opportunities
- ☐ -9 activities for fun and learning
- ☐ -10 other _____

16. The leaders have asked you, "What is the greatest thing St. Louis has going for it now?" What would you say? _____

_____ 46–47

48–49

50–51

And, finally, a great big thank you from the Mayor, the County Executive, and other community leaders for your help in making St. Louis a "KidsPlace."

THANK YOU!!!

interested individuals.[67] Their effect, as has been the case in California, is to create change over time by stimulating action through adequate and non-partisan information. ***We recommend that every state and sizable local jurisdiction initiate or update State of the Child reports and do so on a regularly scheduled basis.***

find them remarkably perceptive about community needs and ways to improve responsiveness to youth.

Young people's views emerge, too, when they organize or participate in youth forums, youth roundtables, advisory committees, and community meetings.[68] In Memphis, Tennessee, a Youth Advisory Board of 20 young people advises the Memphis United Way on issues concerning youth. Youth membership on school boards is a part of the educational landscape across the nation; the National School Board Association reports that about 10 percent of school boards have at least one youth member.

> *There was an ancient Cornish custom used to test whether a person was insane. The individual was confronted with three elements: a spigot, a bucket, and a ladle. As water flowed from the spigot into the bucket, he was instructed to keep the water from overflowing. No matter how tenaciously and effectively he ladled water from the bucket—keeping it from overflowing—he was judged insane if he failed to turn off the spigot!*
>
> *By that ancient standard we behave in a crazy way, picking up the pieces of damaged children—at greater and greater cost to society, with more and more dire consequences—rather than curb the supply. What is it in our character—in the way we organize and represent interests in this democratic society—that causes us to treat the consequences of damage far more vigorously than undertakings to prevent it?*[70]

In addition to objective facts, more information is needed about what young people at the local level *think*. Dr. Robert Aldrich, a founder of Seattle's Kidsplace, recommends that each community survey its youth and adapt its services on the basis of the findings. Six thousand youth ages 13 to 18 answered the first KidsSurvey in 1984 on how they viewed Seattle, and the results were reported first to the responding young people themselves, an action that gained their respect and trust. St. Louis developed its own survey (see pp. 61–62) and, by 1987, KidsSurveys had spread to approximately 100 cities in this country and abroad. Communities that have polled young people

As an outgrowth of the St. Louis survey, youth from the Metropolitan Student Leadership program and 90 community leaders participated in a forum, "Looking at our Cities through the Eyes of Youth," and developed an action agenda for youth.[69] A national youth forum focusing on KidsPlace is planning its first convention for 1989 in

Seattle. At a City-Wide Youth Congress in Boston, 300 young people drew up recommendations to improve services for youth. In Evansville, Indiana, the Youth Board combines 29 adult and nine youth participants; in Fort Wayne, a young person is president and an adult vice-president of the local youth board.

An offspring of Seattle's KidsPlace is KidsBoard, an advocacy group of forty 13-18-year-olds who serve staggered terms on the organization's governance committee. It embraces a broad cross-section of youth, many of whom are not leaders in traditional school settings and some of whom would be termed at-risk youth. The KidsBoard stimulates citywide youth involvement; as many as 400 young people turn out for Seattle's community meetings. The policy committee of KidsBoard advises the mayor of Seattle on issues related to youth and is often consulted on other community issues. The mayor reports that such advice is often as useful as that from his cabinet members.

These examples reinforce the Commission's conviction that communities must not only do things *for* youth, but must create many more opportunities to work in partnership *with* youth. ***We recommend increased efforts to involve youth in governance activities, and we encourage broader youth participation in setting and carrying out local youth agendas.***

Coordinating Service Delivery

The needs of youth are typically ignored until problems develop. In every community, some youth are in pain, in need, in trouble. The family is separated, the child is abused, addicted, or pregnant—long before help is offered. Prevention, whether it be health care, early education, or teaching effective personal habits, yields massive benefits and cost savings for the individual and society.

Common sense, fiscal responsibility, and compassion argue for policies that ensure all children and families access to supports before problems occur. City Children: 2007 in Minneapolis, for example, is a combined effort of youth, families, community agencies, and city leadership that emphasizes the developmental needs of all young people as well as prevention strategies for at-risk youth. Bound by a vision of flourishing children and youth, Minneapolis established the Youth Coordinating Board in 1986 to ensure a continuum of services during the first 20 years of a child's life, "one growing season." Different services are targeted for different stages of life:

- 0-5 years—maternal and child health care and early childhood and parenting education and childcare;
- 5-12 years—education, before- and after-school care, summer programs, tutoring programs;
- 12-18 years—education, youth volunteerism, recreation, adolescent pregnancy prevention, career mentoring, and work internships;
- 18+ years—school-to-work transitions, job counseling, job training and placement, financial assistance for postsecondary education, and family support through housing, food, health care, and welfare reform.

The Board's membership encompasses elected officials, including a committed mayor, and representatives from the city council, county commissioners, board of education, park board, library board, juvenile court, and local delegations of the Minnesota Senate and House of Representatives. A separate youth Advisory Board plans youth development projects.

Unmet needs usually occur in bundles rather than one at a time. The same family may need daycare, employment training, recreation and cultural facilities, and community service opportunities for its children. The same adolescent may need counseling for substance abuse, health care, mentoring, work experience, assistance with a pregnancy, and remedial education. For maximum impact, then, programs designed to help solve problems must also offer *comprehensive* services. In Connecticut and Maryland and in New York City and Minneapolis, for example, the public sector is trying to group all family support services in accessible neighborhood centers.

Bureaucratic constraints often inhibit comprehensive service delivery to youth with multiple needs. Some organizations specialize in a particular issue, like drug abuse or teenage pregnancy, and find it difficult to build bridges to others that specialize in different problems—even when the clients need the services. Separate professional disciplines with different approaches, goals, and priorities dominate agencies and inhibit cooperation—even when the professionals realize the need.

Memphis, Tennessee, has recognized that addressing underlying issues of problems in a systematic way is crucial to long-term solutions. Memphis has recently passed a

$250 million bond issue to finance a comprehensive program for getting young people on their feet. It increases job training opportunities and encourages unions to offer more apprenticeships. In addition, the University of Tennessee sponsors a program to enroll more high school graduates. Money is available for low interest home loans to young families and a school-based teenage pregnancy and health counseling center. This is supplemented with a series of service programs oriented to individuals—prenatal care, drug treatment, and counseling—and augmented with media, police, education, and church involvement. (See also a discussion of the Shelby County, Tennessee, Culture of Poverty Think Tank in Chapter 6.)

Too often, agencies are unfamiliar with the full range of available community services. Without adequate referral, young people may not take advantage of existing services because they do not know the services exist. One large city with highly bureaucratic youth services and myriad private programs helped solve the problem through a collaborative business, university, and city government effort. The result was *The Los Angeles Youth Book*, a guide to youth services in Los Angeles and a valuable resource for communities expanding youth programs.[71]

Piecemeal service delivery can be countered by public and private incentives and leadership that ensure comprehensive and collaborative service. The Annie E. Casey New Futures Initiative has awarded five cities grants of approximately $10 million each to develop a five-year integrated assault on the major problems of at-risk youth, especially dropout rates, youth unemployment, and adolescent pregnancy. The Youth 2000 grants of the US Departments of Labor and Health and Human Services—$1.6 million to 13 state grantees—are awarded to new projects that demonstrate cooperation among agencies. The National Association of State Boards of Education operates a project called "Joining Forces" to encourage and provide technical assistance to state and county departments that emphasize interagency cooperation in serving at-risk youth and families.[72]

Collaboration among youth-serving agencies and institutions could benefit from these guidelines:

- involve youth in the planning and delivery of youth services and train youth as leaders;
- create a community service directory to be used by agencies, youth, and families;
- establish hotline(s) that young people can call to find help;
- publicize youth services and activities in the media and in community calendars; publicize numbers in newspapers and on television that youth can call for emergency services or for youth activities and organizations;
- develop and conduct agency evaluations that measure effectiveness of service and share that information widely;
- assign a staff person to an interagency roundtable which should meet regularly to discuss youth agendas and services;
- locate services as close as possible to the youth and families they serve and cluster services in one location; and
- create warm, welcoming environments that youth will want to visit.

The goals of comprehensive services and increased agency cooperation are difficult, but attainable. In New Jersey, 29 school districts maintain centers that offer counseling, health services, and employment referrals to high school students, many of whom are potential dropouts. Said State Commissioner of Human Services Drew Altman in launching the program, "The time has come to bring human services and education together. The boundaries don't work anymore."[73]

The Commission is quite aware that every study group on children and youth has recommended coordinated services for young people. Someone described it to our Commission as the "big yawn" issue. That may be, but we see increasing evidence that the communities willing to face up to the enormous task of conceiving and implementing comprehensive, coordinated services are making substantial gains.

Therefore, ***we recommend that states and the federal government ensure that all young people and their families have access to developmental, preventive, and remedial services by joining with public and private local efforts to develop comprehensive services and coordinated delivery systems.***

PART TWO:

Toward More Effective Youth Organizations

America's myriad youth organizations play a vital, but undervalued, role in creating opportunities for youth to work in partnership with adults in community-oriented activities. Buttressing the efforts of

home, school, and church, youth agencies have historically offered a training ground for citizenship, but their day-to-day contribution is often taken for granted. As the length of the following section testifies, *the Commission believes that the public and private sector should give special attention and increased support to these essential community resources.*

National youth organizations are the most familiar. Over 400 strong, they have thousands of local affiliates, chapters, clubs, troops, and centers throughout the country.[74] Some of the oldest and largest, among them the YMCA (founded 1851), the YWCA (1855), and the Boy Scouts of America (1910), were based on earlier British models. Others, Catholic Youth Organizations and B'nai B'rith Youth, for example, are offshoots of major religious denominations. United Neighborhood Centers of America, founded in 1911 by Jane Addams, are the descendants of the late 19th Century settlement house movement, while the Boys Clubs of America (1906) and the Girls Clubs of America (1945) are federations of clubs begun independently in numerous American cities.

Most groups have traditionally emphasized building character and developing leadership, but their specific objectives vary widely. Job and career orientation is the principal focus of 4-H, Junior Achievement, Future Homemakers of America (FHA), and Future Farmers of America (FFA). Little League and Police Athletic Associations also have broader citizenship-building aims, though they are largely recreational in their programming.

Not so well known, but every bit as vital, are thousands of grass roots youth agencies: The Upstairs in Ames, Iowa, Centro de Juventud Latinoamericano in Washington, DC, The Carole Robertson Center For Learning in Chicago. Many of these groups exist largely on shoestring budgets, invention, and determination.

Meeting the Needs of Youth

A notable strength of many youth organizations is the opportunity they can provide youth to engage in productive activities alongside adults. They can complement both school and work by allowing youth to test what they have learned in school and to hone the interpersonal, decision-making, and personal behaviors that will help them in the adult world. An independent survey conducted by Louis Harris for Boys Clubs of America reported that nine out of 10 alumni believe that their membership had been important to their success in later life.[75] Participation in extracurricular and community activities can help young people set and attain educational goals and build the base for a successful adolescence.[76] Equally important, many youth organizations foster the ethic of service to others, an essential component of both leadership and good citizenship. By their own admission, however, almost all youth organizations are struggling to adapt to changing family and societal circumstances and searching for ways to retain teenage members and to reach the hardest to serve.

Membership in most youth organizations falls off sharply after ages 12-14. For example, 89 percent of all Girls Scouts are younger than 12 years old. During 1987, 503,000 twelve-year-olds participated in 4-H, but by age 14, that number had dwindled to 233,000.[77] As adolescents mature, they may become diverted by other interests: high school sports, school extracurricular activities, part-time employment.[78] For some, dropping out of an organization that was part of their childhood can be an important rite of passage.[79] Yet, many drop out simply because organizations do not offer programs that seem relevant to them. Recent research describes an age-related decline in interest among youth in *adult-directed* activities followed by an increasing interest, first, in informal peer interaction and then, among older youth, in commercial recreation such as movies, discos, and bars.[80]

Clearly, older youth need opportunities to take on responsibility and to participate in the adult world. A recent 4-H Alumni Study found that 59 percent of the responding alumni had dropped out of the program while still eligible and that 44 percent of those who did so said the program no longer met their current interests. All respondents would have preferred more leadership opportunities.[81] Another, much smaller, study found that many teen 4-H members wanted more freedom in choosing and carrying out projects of their own design. Said one member, "Leaders like to keep 4-H the same. They have the same projects. I'd like to see some new ideas." Several respondents observed that 4-H did not change as their members grew up.[82] In one study of teenage girls (80 percent of whom had left youth organizations by age 13), the most common suggestions for program improvement included adding "exciting activities," more opportunities to "see other places and people," "talk about their problems," and "discuss or participate in public events."[83]

After the schools, youth organizations comprise our most pervasive educationally-oriented youth institutions and offer potentially ideal vehicles for providing many of the opportunities teenagers require. But effective youth work requires adequate resources, strong community support, and the ability to adjust to demographic, economic, and social changes; not all youth organizations are equally successful in their adaptation. This section briefly reviews some problems and successes and recommends actions to aid youth organizations. Critical differences in organizational type, in philosophy, history, community support, financial resources, geographic location, and in the gender, ethnicity and income levels of their memberships result in important variations among agencies and even among branches of the same program. Consequently, problems and solutions can also vary widely. Because space does not permit a complete discussion of these distinctions, the reader is asked to remember that although the following describes the *general* state of youth work, our conclusions will not apply with equal force to *every* youth organization.

acceptance and understanding that is the bedrock of good youth work. Consequently, staff and volunteers willing to keep pace with older adolescents' often mercurial enthusiasms and able to respond to their needs must be carefully recruited. Even the best must be well-trained and effectively supervised if they are to make a genuine contribution.

Many youth organizations are strapped by rising costs, decreased funding, worrisome liability laws and court decisions, difficulties in locating technical assistance and training, and fears that changes in tax laws may reduce charitable contributions. Although charitable giving in the United States reached a new high of nearly $80 billion in 1985—83 percent of it by individuals—disincentives built into the 1987 federal tax law may limit this generosity. The reduction of the federal role during the 1980s in a variety of human service programs has placed a major burden on private philanthropy. Corporate giving is seen as increasingly directed toward basic human services and newer areas, such as family violence, substance abuse, and programs for the elderly.[85] Consequently, youth agencies are in much tougher competition for philanthropic dollars.

> *America's myriad youth organizations play a vital, but undervalued, role in creating opportunities for youth to work in partnership with adults . . .*

Organizational Limitations

Older youth are more expensive to serve—in terms of staff, programming, and other resources—than younger members. Just as in schools, the per capita expenditure in youth organizations is likely to rise with age.[84] Programs for older youth often require more than the typically-stocked recreational and arts and crafts supplies, more physical space than an empty classroom or church hall, and a lower adult-youth ratio. Entrepreneurial projects, such as a youth newspaper, a gardening service, or a summer lunch stand, may need venture capital and the fairly constant involvement of an adult advisor who knows the ropes. Not every adult has the special talent for

Competition for funds can strain interagency cooperation. In some agencies, finding continued funding for a successful program, or start-up funds for an innovative project that may not meet the criteria of many funders, can dominate the director's time. Once won, the typical one-year grant leaves agencies little time to launch and run the project, build community support, and begin the effort to institutionalize, all of which could eventually lessen dependence on outside funders.

Small organizations with minimal support staff and few institutional reserves to see them through funding gaps are especially vulnerable. Many youth advocates contend that "old money" quickly becomes spoken for

by older, more established organizations. The limited funding that remains available is often problem-centered and intervention-oriented, rather than preventive and development-oriented in character. The best community-based agency directors know how to look for openings in funding streams and package ongoing program objectives in ways that conform to constant changes in public, political, and bureaucratic perceptions of youth needs while continuing to meet their original purposes.[86] But these skills are rare and not easily transmitted.

Staffing Dilemmas

Youth workers are typically underpaid. In a 1986 study, more than 40 percent of a sample of staff members drawn from 11 national youth organizations, each of whom had at least eight years of experience, reported earning less than $25,000 a year for full-time work.[87] According to a study by the Child Welfare League of America, the median salary of child welfare practitioners with a four-year college degree was $16,200 in 1987. With a master's degree in social work (MSW), the median level increased to $21,200, still far less than mail carriers, firefighters, registered nurses, auto salesmen, and telephone line repair workers. Social work practitioners with other graduate degrees and supervisors in group homes and other residential settings made even less—$18,800 and $18,000, respectively—the bottom of the salary scale for all positions polled by the CWLA.[88] Low salaries are frequently accompanied by extremely limited benefits. Unpromising career ladders magnify the difficulties of attracting and keeping first-rate people in youth work.

Many youth agencies recruit and hire primarily on the basis of experience and commitment; few youth workers have any formal training in youth development. For the most part, undergraduate collegiate and postsecondary training in youth work and advocacy is limited (except in rare cases, such as that from the University of Minnesota's Center for Youth Development). Inservice training can also be quite limited in the first year or two of employment. When it does occur, it is usually on-the-job, possibly because the high cost of intensive skills training for people who are likely to have short careers prohibits employers from making substantial front-end investments.

Staff members in most youth organizations wear many hats—as facilitators, program developers, parent educators, mentors, evaluators, fundraisers, and "experts" in human growth and development. Although youth work is not recognized as a specific academic discipline or well-rewarded with salary, prestige, or opportunities for advancement, *the Commission believes that the special knowledge and high service ethic required to do youth work surely entitles it to rank as a full-fledged profession.*

Large national organizations can and do devote substantial resources to developing and disseminating training materials and providing workshops and seminars of all kinds to member agencies. As the publicly-funded youth arm of the Cooperative Extension Service, 4-H is the most advantaged in this regard because land grant universities are charged by law to train agents and support 4-H programs in each state. (See Chapter 6 for a discussion of 4-H and Cooperative Extension Service programs.) Local, grass roots youth organizations enjoy no such bonanza.

Shifting Volunteer Resources

Several million volunteers form the backbone of most youth organizations, enabling many communities to provide youth services that would otherwise not be funded. Cooperative Extension System volunteers, including 4-H volunteer leaders, for example, provided services in 1983 that were valued at more than $4.5 *billion*—a contribution over five times greater than the total budget of the entire Extension System.[89]

Despite changing patterns of volunteerism and a four percent decline in volunteer participation between 1980 and 1985,[90] agencies report that they continue to recruit enough volunteers. Because far more women volunteers are now employed, their schedules are less flexible than formerly. Some currently unemployed women hope that volunteer activity will add to their resume and help them in the labor market. Fund-raising, public relations, and office work can be more appealing to this group than direct contact with youth.

Many organizations have responded imaginatively to changes in volunteer availability and interest. Instead of relying on one leader per troop, for example, some Girl Scout troops use several adult leaders, who share overall leadership and "roundrobin" responsibility for specific activities. Some youth organizations are finding new groups of potential volunteers and devising creative ways to involve them. Girls Clubs of America, for example, has recruited scientists, mathematicians, and computer programmers who are eager to share their expertise through special roles in

> *. . . the special knowledge and high service ethic required to do youth work surely entitles it to rank as a full-fledged profession.*

Operation Smart, an innovative program to encourage girls in technology, the sciences, and mathematics.

Some agencies involve older youth as volunteer tutors, mentors, and aides. Youthful volunteers gain leadership opportunities, younger members benefit from older peers as role models, and adult volunteers enjoy the advantage of a second pair of hands. Enabling older youth to serve as volunteer leaders gives them an opportunity to apply—and test—what they have learned in more realistic ways than schools can easily provide.[91]

Ensuring careful selection, training, and ongoing supervision of all volunteers, especially younger ones, is critical. In the Tulip Trace Council of Girl Scouts in Bloomington, Indiana, Cadettes (12-14-years-old) and Senior Scouts (14-17-years-old) gain entry to a program aide course by completing 56 hours of outdoor skill-building and a workbook of activities. Training over two summers includes planning and taking an active leadership role in day camp activities for younger scouts and taking charge of a specific interest area in the second year.

Senior citizens are also a strong source of volunteer help. A Camp Fire intergenerational program provides many opportunities for young and old to learn from and about each other. The American Association of Retired Persons gives annual awards to local Girls Clubs for their intergenerational program efforts.

Younger adults, often without children of their own, are an additional resource. *Newsweek* recently heralded the "New Volunteerism" in which an increasing number of highly-paid professionals are "penciling compassion into their calendars." Some are looking for satisfying personal contact: One vice president at a major New York brokerage house says she prefers "working on projects where I can roll up my sleeves and get directly involved."[92] Others are willing to share specialized skills in marketing, accounting, law, advertising, and public relations that can be a boon to the youth agencies that capitalize on them.

Still, volunteer shortages persist in some areas. Big Brothers/Big Sisters, which works in some 470 communities, reports that 20 percent of those it serves are minority group members, but that over 50 percent of its long waiting list consists of minority youth seeking a minority Big Brother/Sister. Traditional youth organizations find minority adult volunteers, especially males, hard to recruit. Many minority adults, however, volunteer in their churches, and a substantial proportion are active in black sororities and fraternities that do much to assist community youth.

Low income can deter even the most concerned adult from volunteering. In a recent survey, 1,100 volunteers reported that volunteering costs money as well as time. On average, these volunteers donated about $130 in cash or materials during 1983 with one in 10 reporting a contribution of more than $400 in money and supplies to get the job done.[93] *The Commission believes that agencies need the help of the public and private sector in finding ways to lessen the personal expenses attached to volunteering—through reimbursement for travel, supplies, and childcare—and to improve incentives, including the opportunity for personal education, thus enabling a broad cross-section of adults to volunteer.*

Reaching Minorities and Youth with Special Needs

Low-income youth, regardless of race or ethnic group, are under-represented in many youth organizations. In a national survey of sophomores and seniors in public, private, and parochial schools, one main difference between those who belonged to youth organizations and those who did not was that members were more likely to come from families whose incomes were high. Members tended to have better school grades (56.5 percent had average grades of B in contrast to only 45.9 percent of non-members) and, not surprisingly, members reported higher career expectations.[94] Many low-income youth may want to participate but may not be able to without financial

help. Scholarships for annual dues, transportation, and purchasing uniforms are provided in some youth organizations, but the volume and force of assistance has not kept pace with the need.

The Commission supports the view of virtually all youth organizations that more attention must be directed to serving minority youth and encouraging minority adults to volunteer, as well as increasing the participation of low-income youth. The Girl Scouts have designed recruitment material to appeal to special populations. Brochures directed toward Native Americans lead with the phrase "Your names are on our rivers." Those aimed at black youth declare that "Black Americans have a history of helping each other." The *Girl Scout Leader*, a magazine for adults in scouting, prints some columns in Spanish. In most cases, these attempts go far beyond sloganeering—some organizations have traditionally served low-income and minority populations. A case in point: Girls Clubs of America, with 240 local centers in 1986, served 250,000 young women from 6 to 18 years of age in 34 states—45 percent from minority families, 67 percent from families earning less than $15,000 per year, and 51 percent from single-parent families.

Over half of the 1,285,000 young people in Boys Clubs and Boys and Girls Clubs are from minority families, families with annual incomes under $12,000 and families with more than four children. Nearly half of their combined membership live in households headed by single-parents. Their Targeted Outreach program, a major delinquency intervention effort funded by the US Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention since 1977, has brought services and club activities to over 4500 at-risk adolescents, nearly half of whom were between 15 and 18 years of age. After assessing their ability to attract at-risk teens, clubs strengthened, modified, or added on to existing programming—in the most successful cases using input from teenage members. Direct outreach on the streets, at malls, video arcades, and schools proved to be the single most effective means of recruitment. Adjusted work schedules made staff more available to targeted youth.[95]

At community and neighborhood levels, homegrown programs are also successfully attracting and retaining minority, low-income, and at-risk youth. East Harlem's Youth Action Program is a sterling example. Aimed at young people whose families and schools have not been able to give them the support and opportunities they need, the idea behind YAP was "to create an effective alliance of youth and adults by coupling the energy and idealism of young people with the experience and skills of caring adults." Success has not been easy, nor has it come overnight, for the program or for the teenagers. One member recalls:

> *In the beginning it was sort of like a game to me. I used to just come and hang out and joke around. I started seeing what the program was doing and how it's growing more and more, and I kept coming. I was on drugs at the time but the more I got involved here, the more I decided I wanted more for myself and could have more for myself despite where I came from.*[96]

Over the past ten years, more than 15,000 young people from a crime-ridden poverty community with a 75 percent dropout rate have planned and participated through YAP in neighborhood crime prevention patrols, tutoring, literacy, and pregnancy prevention classes, and job training in construction, carpentry, and other projects that have built their skills, confidence, and self-esteem. After five years of concentrated work, 250 East Harlem teens finished the complete rehabilitation of a four-story building to house young families. Rehabilitation of nine others is now in progress. The Youth Action Program has also played a key role in the apparent success of Eugene Lang's I Have A Dream Foundation by providing much of the follow-up and support that most observers consider a major factor in its success. Over 400 youth have had central leadership opportunities, with many serving as members of the board of directors, three-fourths of which is comprised of teenagers.[97]

In Washington, DC, an added dimension of minority participation and cross-cultural collaboration has emerged in the form of Teatro Latinegro, a project of El Centro de Juventud Latinoamericano and the brainchild of a former Latino participant in the center's Summer Arts Program. After graduation from the District's Duke Ellington School of the Arts, this youth, another Latino, and two black Ellington graduates joined the center's staff of full-time outreach workers and created Teatro Latinegro, an improvisational theatre project designed to explore youth issues and increase communication among black and Latino youth. With the involvement of community youth between the ages of 17 and 22, Latinegro develops skits and short improvisational pieces, as well as an original full-length play each year. Each underscores the common concerns of youth and their communities. They demonstrate the possibility of intercultural accomplishment

and cooperation to audiences on street corners, in schools, juvenile detention centers, and, in 1988, at the Smithsonian Institution.[98]

The Boys and Girls Club of Port Hueneme, California, recruits members from tough neighborhoods to participate in a range of community service activities including building devices for persons with disabilities and making TV public service announcements. The whole community has changed as a result. Follow-up in the schools found that only five members developed additional problems in school performance after joining the club; 199 showed a positive change in performance. Of the 144 that joined with some prior juvenile justice experience, only one had further involvement while with the Club.[99] *Community programs can successfully involve low-income and minority youth if they target their recruitment efforts to those most in need, recognize the problems that these young people and their communities face, and provide them with support, training, and resources to help them channel their considerable energies toward the solution, rather than the creation, of community concerns.*

Effectively engaging youth with disabilities poses a different kind of challenge for youth organizations. Developing an awareness about disabilities and a sensitivity to persons with disabilities among their non-disabled membership is an important objective of the Girl Scouts. Mainstreaming is not new to them; they have traditionally served girls with disabilities, including mentally-retarded girls since the early 1940s. The Boys Clubs also emphasizes disability awareness, providing guidelines on how to remove or compensate for architectural barriers and instructions on how to modify equipment to accommodate various physical impairments. Boy Scouts of America includes experiential activities designed to increase handicapped awareness at their National Jamboree and has numerous publications to aid leaders working with troops or individuals with disabilities. The BSA Scouting for the Handicapped program received the 1985 National Organization on Disability Award for innovations in serving members with disabilities. (See a more detailed discussion of youth with disabilities in Chapter 6.) Many youth organization members also take part in the Special Olympics, a unique opportunity for young people with disabilities to participate in nationally recognized athletic competition. The 1987 games, held at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, brought 300,000 spectators to cheer on 5,000 competitors. Each, with an individual coach as well as a local host, demonstrated his/her "personal best."

Paths To Leadership

In spite of the difficulties, some youth organizations have built impressive track records in developing creative and challenging opportunities for participation among hard to serve youth and older teens. The community-based Midwood Kings in New York City is one of a growing number of organizations in which job programs provide members with career counseling, skills and needs assessments, training in how to handle an interview, and how to keep a job, as well as specific skills training and job referrals. Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Washington, DC has recently increased its vocational skills training to include two growing employment areas in the District—culinary arts and printing. Students cater numerous luncheons, dinners, and special events while others apprentice under a master printer—learning offset, two-color printing, and bindery techniques.

The Boy Scouts' school-based Career Explorer Program offers an emphasis on career development and a "new look" distinct from the traditional, uniformed Boy Scout image. Its coed membership of 14-18-year-olds accounted for 17 percent of the Boy Scouts' total membership in 1986 and has substantially contributed to its membership increase in recent years.[100]

Several out-of-school Explorer posts comprise the young adult arm of the Boy Scouts. Organized by businesses, civic clubs, labor unions, government agencies, and other community groups, in conjunction with the Boy Scouts, each post usually emphasizes a particular hobby, career, sport, or interest area, and all offer 14-20-year-old young men and women community service, fitness, and personal growth opportunities. Law Enforcement Explorers, usually organized in conjunction with a police precinct or district, provide classes for neighborhood children to teach them about bicycle and personal safety; assists with crowd control; offer guide services; conduct property identification programs, escort services, and crime prevention classes for senior citizens; and sponsor lectures and demonstrations on auto and house theft prevention.

The Dorchester Youth Collaborative in Boston, Massachusetts, is a community partnership designed to prevent youth problems that can lead to crime and a tense community climate. Its youth clubs, called TIES, inspire young people to give as well as

take from their communities by involving many high-risk youth in both recreational activities and community development. All clubs have work crews, and several have collaborated in the rehabilitation and renovation of two neighborhoods as part of a broader crime-prevention effort. The clubs also provide counseling, alternative education, tutoring, and vocational and employment services.[101]

Aunt Martha's, a community-based center in Park Forest, Illinois, involves older teens by offering them real responsibilities. Started in 1972 to provide teens with a support system outside the home, Aunt Martha's 34 programs at seven sites touch more than 4,500 teens and their families annually. As in many successful programs, youth are given real opportunities to participate actively—to give help, support, and guidance, as well as to receive it. Its 21-member board of directors includes nine young people. Other youth fill both paid and volunteer staff positions. In addition to a menu of individual and family counseling, runaway support, and a range of education, employment, and health services, high schoolers write, produce, and perform plays that explore adolescent problems and responsibilities for youth and adult audiences. Senior high students in Aunt Martha's advocacy unit are trained and paid to help younger teens develop decision-making skills.

Laying the foundation for responsible decision-making should start early. The Smart Moves Program of the Boys Club for 10-14-year-olds is built on the premise that helping young people say "no" to drugs, alcohol, and premature sexual activity takes more than "scaring them straight" or just feeding them facts. Facing these issues head-on, teens build their problem-solving, coping, communication, and leadership skills in small groups led by peers. They learn how to seek advice and support from peers and adults, develop the strength to resist choices that are not good for them, and make their own informed decisions. Throughout the program, young people are encouraged to exercise substantial leadership. A separate component, Keep Smart, helps parents understand the pressures that young people face and learn how to listen to, as well as talk with, their children.

The Commission applauds many youth organizations' longstanding emphasis on leadership development. We commend especially those innovations that utilize the workplace and the community as laboratories in which to teach and learn leadership's valuable lessons. The Leaders at Work in Food Service Program of Future Homemakers of America (FHA), sponsored by the H.J. Heinz Company and the Marriott Corporation, offers individual professional growth and recognition to young people

> ***Youth-serving agencies should be invited to become full partners in this enterprise, using their expertise and their commitment to youth to supplement the formal work of the classroom . . .***

Girls Clubs across the country use the *Choices* curriculum developed by the Girls Club of Santa Barbara as a pregnancy prevention approach aimed at 15-17- year-olds. Used in a group setting, the curriculum helps young women distinguish between the myths and realities of adulthood and learn that, by carefully considering their options, they can take charge of their futures.

interested in food service occupations.[102] Students, volunteers, or paid employees working in food service who plan a career in the industry, develop projects focusing on interpersonal, managerial, communication, or entrepreneurial leadership skills with the guidance and supervision of employers or school supervisors and their FHA/HERO advisor. Students completing successful projects compete for national leadership

awards, including scholarships for further study.

The leadership model developed by Outward Bound USA uses outdoor adventure-based experiences to enhance self-confidence and self-esteem and develop teamwork, a sense of service to community, and respect for the environment. Established in 1962, Outward Bound USA consists of five independent schools with a national office in Greenwich, Connecticut.[103] Courses in canoeing, mountain climbing, and other wilderness activities include skill training, physical conditioning, a marathon event, a solo experience, and a service project. The organization has demonstrated some success in developing positive attitudes among young people with serious difficulties in their lives, and Outward Bound techniques that emphasize cooperative effort are incorporated in other youth organization training.

Newer organizations are also creating opportunities designed for older youth and adults to study and experience the concept of youth leadership. Over 300 cities have begun to build leadership networks in their locales,[104] and more than 600 colleges and universities have programs to study and develop leadership.[105] The majority of these programs focus mainly on middle and upper class college students and adults, but some have started to stress more ethnic, racial, and socio-economic diversity.

In one such program, Native American youth participate in an annual eight-day Leadership Camp at Camp Asaayi in New Mexico, sponsored by the Indian Youth Leadership Project, an affiliate of the National Youth Leadership Council. This program emphasizes the idea that giving service to others is an essential part of leadership and stresses the importance of devising cooperative strategies to deal with community problems. Each young person takes on a personal service project for his or her home community. During the camp, wilderness experiences help the participants understand the role of cooperation in achieving group goals. The program explicitly explores the patterns of Native American leadership and tests the application of those patterns to solving problems.[106] **Appendix B** provides additional examples of grass roots leadership development programs spreading across the country.

Comprehensive Services and Collaborative Programs

According to a 1984 report prepared by the Program Support Group of the National Collaboration for Youth, the economic and social challenges facing today's youth are greater than any single youth institution can meet.[107] As this chapter has already discussed, broader voluntary and public sector cooperation among schools, social service agencies, and youth organizations must be engaged to build a system that offers a fully accessible portfolio of services.

Although some agencies cooperate successfully with the schools, and vice versa,[108] this Commission is especially concerned that school-agency collaboration in such seemingly mundane matters as conducting before- and after-school programs on school grounds may be deteriorating, instead of expanding. As Chapter 2 has shown, far-reaching social and economic changes have made it increasingly difficult for families to provide the adult companionship and supervision young people need during the daytime hours when they are not in school. Youth organizations help fill this void. "Building-based" national organizations, such as the YMCA, YWCA, Girls Clubs, and Boys Clubs, are already extending before- and after-school activities, with some even providing breakfast and dinner. Girl Scouts also continues to develop its "latchkey" programs. More cooperative efforts between school boards and youth agencies can provide a wealth of evening, early morning, and weekend activities in neighborhood schools. These would help keep young people safe and give them a chance to use their developing knowledge and skills in a variety of nonacademic, yet constructive, ways.

Despite the wisdom of this "lighted schoolhouse" approach, current trends have moved in the other direction. Along with the back to basics movement has come a de-emphasis on the developmental, experiential learning promoted by many youth agencies. Concerns about safety and the costs of heating, lighting, and insuring buildings have made it difficult to convince administrators (and to pay custodians) to keep schools open beyond the normal school day. We need to know more about how to forge linkages among business and labor organizations, schools, families, and youth organizations.

One program has found a cost-effective solution. New York City's Rheedlen Foundation, a private, nonprofit organization, operates its Center 54 Program for 32 weeks a year, 18 hours per week, in space rented from a junior high school. To cover the annual $17,000 rental fee, the program director convinced health, education, and other organizations to share some of the school's space and a portion of the expenses resulting in reduced costs and

a wider range of services for community youth and their families.

Running youth programs *during* school hours, a time-honored method of school-agency cooperation, however, is gaining new currency. Many academically trained school personnel do not feel equipped to develop curricula focused on such areas as job exploration or employability skills—fields that fall increasingly within the school's mandate but often outside its expertise. On the other hand, career development is a component of many youth organizations serving out-of-school youth. Working together, using school facilities and youth agency personnel and expertise, everyone benefits. Young people learn about jobs, school teachers can stick to teaching what they know, and youth agencies can increase their outreach.

The school-agency tie is exemplified in the 300,000 member Future Homemakers of America. FHA's 11,000 chapters, composed of both young men and women, are recognized as integral to vocational education programs in elementary and secondary schools throughout the country. Similar collaboration is found in a wealth of vocational student organizations, including Future Farmers of America (FFA), Distributive Education Clubs of America (DECA), Vocational Industrial Clubs of America (VICA), and American Industrial Arts Student Associations (AIASA). Newer partnerships with the schools include the Birmingham, Alabama, Council of Camp Fire effort to bring career orientation and job search skills to over 5,000 high school students, who otherwise would not get them. A mobile unit with a computer linked to the state occupational resource center travels to area schools to show young people how to match their skills and interests with potential careers.

The Bayou Girl Scout Council in Lafayette, Louisiana, shows what youth organizations can accomplish when they join hands with local businesses, religious groups, the schools, media, family, and friends. In 1987, the Council operated 14 camps, all organized around the theme of Cajun culture, for 1,600 girls, managed entirely by volunteer camp directors, counselors, lifeguards, and business managers. Each staff involved local musicians, artists, authors, chefs, and families to reinforce the rich Cajun heritage that shaped their regional history. Cadettes and Senior Girl Scouts served as aides in setting up and conducting the camps.

The Commission believes that successful collaborations are built on strong leadership and adequate resources. What makes any cooperative enterprise work are people who can help their potential partners see the common ground and mutual benefits they can share and who care more about solving problems than about taking credit. Collaboration also requires joint fiscal support. It cannot be approached solely as a money-saver.

Measuring Effectiveness

Even as they continue to succeed, youth organizations share an important quality with the youth they serve: both need continuing support. Although agencies with national affiliations possess institutional mechanisms to replicate successful programs, increased budgets are often necessary. Many funders incorrectly assume that all agencies can draw on wealthy parent organizations for financial support and do not need further help. In addition, the long-term and hard-to-measure effects of prevention and personal development programs make it hard for most agencies, whether grass roots or national affiliates, to submit the quantitative proposals that many funding sources demand. Agencies limited by small staffs and without funds to implement sophisticated research designs, can seldom produce extensive evaluation data. Funders too often mistake that lack of data as evidence of ineffective programs.

Recognizing these problems, some national youth organizations are working to build strong research components. Girls Clubs of America's National Resource Center in Indianapolis, Indiana, begun in 1981, gathers information on girls' needs and how to meet them and brings researchers and practitioners together in a variety of ways.[109] Its two volume *Facts and Reflections* series, the result of requests from local clubs for "facts we can trust and use," summarizes the diverse research literature on how girls learn about and prepare for work and what is known about female adolescent sexuality. The Center also serves as a repository for program information and other data concerning girls.

Operation Smart, the Girls Club program encouraging excellence in science, mathematics, and technology, has triggered a whole set of new questions about what works, when, and for whom. Model programs at several sites in New York and Massachusetts are participating in a comprehensive study by the national GCA to evaluate and learn from their experience. Several other Girls Clubs projects incorporate significant outcome evaluations. Their eight-site Preventing Adolescent Pregnancy Program, cited by a panel of the

National Research Council as promising significant new information, is one such effort.

The 4-H Alumni Study was an important step in the much-needed effort to identify areas of strength and weakness in youth organizations. Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA), in cooperation with the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, is also planning an ambitious, long-term evaluation, pending adequate funding. Through surveys, field observation, and historical analysis, it will systematically research the role of informal education outside the schools on the total education process for American girls. GSUSA also publishes an annual *Environmental Scanning Report* that contains demographic, economic, and environmental data with implications for many youth organizations as well as the Girls Scouts.[110]

However valuable they may be, elaborate evaluations can deplete operating budgets and divert program resources unless they are separately funded as, indeed, some already are. ***The Commission encourages philanthropic foundations and other funders to support the evaluation of youth organization programs and to confirm through research what has been learned in practice.***

Recommendations

The Commission encourages the business community, labor unions, and the public sector, especially the schools, to recognize that private agencies contribute heavily to the health and vitality of the total community. Any town or city that allows its private voluntary sector supporting youth to decline in effectiveness will, in short order, be a poorer and less viable community.

Schools alone cannot provide all that children and youth need to develop and prosper. There are many hours in the day, days in the week, and weeks in the year when most schools are not in session. All the good that occurs in formal schooling can be enhanced, or undone, by the informal education of the community, the family, and the workplace.

The Commission, therefore, recommends that community leaders give renewed attention to the tenets of the community education movement, particularly to the "lighted schoolhouse" idea which ought to be implemented in every community throughout America. We believe that the libraries, gymnasia, playgrounds, recreational facilities, and activity rooms of our tax-supported public schools should be open to the community, including out-of-school youth, from early morning well into the evening, seven days a week, 12 months a year. Youth-serving agencies should be invited to become full partners in this enterprise, using their expertise and their commitment to youth to supplement the formal work of the classroom, rather than being kept at arm's length from the instructional tasks of the schools.

The dearth of genuinely qualified and adequately paid practitioners in youth work concerns the Commission. ***We recommend that both collegiate undergraduate and graduate programs in social work, education, and the human services provide training in youth work.*** The long-overdue creation of a relevant academic base and the establishment of certification procedures would help attract persons of high calibre, commitment, and technical competence to the field of youth work.

The isolation and sense of aloneness that many children and youth experience in much of their daily lives can be overcome. When the young hear the message: "We care about you and your future. We need you. You are a resource to make this community a better place to live"—then, valued by others, they will be encouraged to value themselves. For this task, like others set forth in this report, no single institution in society can do the entire job unaided. Without a comprehensive, coordinated, community-by-community approach to helping our youth use their abundant potential, our nation will be far from the good society that most Americans desire.

Finally, *because we are convinced that youth agencies are a poorly understood, underutilized, and underfunded national resource, **the Commission recommends that foundation and/or public funding support a comprehensive, in-depth study of the state of the nation's youth organizations to add to our understanding of successful youth work and to learn what can be done to aid them in their essential mission of youth development.*** Although much has already been learned, we need to know much more about:

- The images youth, parents, teachers, community leaders, funders, and volunteers have of youth organizations and their potential to meet the interests and needs of older adolescents.
- The extent to which youth agencies serve non-college-bound youth. What about dropouts, delinquents, substance abusers, teen parents, "the tough kids"? What programs have been successful with the non-college-bound? With

difficult populations? To what extent is the case management approach used? How successful is it?

- The programs and services that work best in attracting and holding older teens.
- The relationship of youth organizations to employment. Are there ways to tie work and membership in youth organizations together?
- The effects on participants of programs conducted by youth organizations in such areas as (a) leadership, (b) prevention of suicide, drug abuse, and teen pregnancy, (c) career development, (d) positive health and fitness, (e) volunteerism and community action.
- The key sources of stress on organizations at the local and national level. Are the pressures discussed in this report (availability of volunteers, inadequate staff salaries, public skepticism of the developmental approach versus crisis management, restricted funding) seen as key by the organizations themselves? What are the effects of challenges to tax exemptions on youth organizations?
- The barriers to school-youth organization cooperation. How widespread are these organizations in elementary/middle school/high school? What successful models exist? How can local and state agencies enhance this partnership?
- The opportunities for corporate/youth agency collaboration.
- Collaborative approaches with government and public and private agencies.
- The degree to which innovative funding strategies, e.g., children's or youth trust funds, are being used.
- How foundation, United Way, and government funds affect youth organizations and the degree to which external funding shapes their programs, populations served, and other key factors in youth work.

Special attention should be paid to gender, race/ethnicity, income levels, and related issues in analyzing these issues. On the basis of a responsible assessment of questions like these, the public can determine the wisest course of future philanthropy as well as the most effective investment of public funds. If we wish to build a vital and responsive youth-serving sector for the 21st century, now is the time to start.

The total picture of community resources affecting the lives and fortunes of the Forgotten Half reaches well beyond youth organizations and embraces government-supported and private activities in many realms. We cannot extend our analysis to full consideration of either housing policy or welfare policy; nor have we been able to recognize adequately all the activities of the many philanthropic agencies supporting projects that directly or indirectly influence youth development.

Within this wide spectrum of efforts, however, there is one that is of such scope and has such fundamental relationship to opportunities for the young that we want to call attention to it, even if only briefly. It is the encouragement and growth of Community Development Corporations (CDCs) through joint support from foundations, businesses, and government. These grass roots CDCs have emerged in dozens of cities, primarily to develop improved housing under local leadership and to enhance job opportunities in places where they are lacking. These efforts are providing the seed corn for neighborhoods in which families and youth can thrive. While they make no claim to erase completely the worst conditions in our cities, they have clearly made more than a dent in the problem. Information about them is available from the Ford Foundation in New York and from the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) there.[111]

We have pointed to a number of communities that are working hard to lay Pathways to Success for their young people; many more fine examples exist. All of these state and local programs emphasize the crucial interaction among youth, their families, and their communities as young people prepare for their future. Each illustrates unique ways in which communities can both nurture and derive strength from their young people. The Commission urges other localities to examine these efforts and to borrow and adapt these strategies for their young people.

These programs and others sprouting around the country send youth the message that they are important to society all year around, here and now, not just in graduation speeches that say "you are the future." Such programs convey a sense of respect for youth and show that adults are ready to listen to them and willing to invest time and public and private resources in

young people's development. When this happens, youth will be willing to involve themselves in their communities and give back what they have received. Communities can create the reciprocity that is the true mark of citizenship.

PATHWAYS TO SUCCESS:

Recommendations

Responsive communities, along with good schools and strong families, form the triad of support that young people need to develop their full potential. Amidst rapid changes in families, in communities, and in educational institutions, innovative programs recognize that young people are both assets to, and responsibilities of, their communities. Youth-oriented community action initiated by states and municipal governments, civic organizations, and grass roots and nationally-affiliated youth organizations across the country needs to be more widely replicated and supported and the numerous agencies serving youth must work together more effectively. Therefore, we recommend:

- **Community-based youth activities that concentrate on the developmental needs of all youth, that respond to young people's opinions and ideas, and involve youth in the planning and implementation of programs that serve them. (p. 54)**
- **Consideration by schools, employers, and youth organizations of the value of developing their own codes and credos, accompanied by induction, mid-course, or graduation ceremonies which in themselves become an important part of the educational and civic purpose of their programs. (p. 54)**
- **Youth involvement in local crime prevention activities, including projects that improve the physical appearance of the community; increased participation with adults on local community boards that address community safety; and incorporation of law-related curricula and mediation training in schools, youth organizations, and programs that serve young people. (p. 57)**
- **Exploration, at all levels of government, of innovative finance mechanisms, including trust funds and special purpose bonds and levies, to meet young people's developmental needs, offer preventive services, and respond to specific problems. (p. 60)**
- **Development or updating of State of the Child reports or similar planning guides by every state or sizeable jurisdiction to provide an accurate profile of local youth needs. (p. 63)**
- **Youth involvement in local governance activities, including fuller participation in setting and carrying out local youth agendas, through membership on school boards and on governmental and voluntary sector advisory boards. (p. 64)**
- **Comprehensive and coordinated delivery systems developed through public and private local efforts in combination with state and federal government support to ensure that all young people and their families have access to developmental, preventive, and remedial services. (p. 65)**
- **Renewed attention by community leaders, youth organizations, and the schools, to the tenets of the community education movement, particularly to the "lighted schoolhouse" idea that libraries, gymnasia, playgrounds, recreational facilities, and the activity rooms of public schools be open to everyone, including out-of-school youth, from early morning well into the evening. (p. 75)**
- **Training in youth work included in both collegiate undergraduate and graduate programs in social work, education, and the human services. (p. 75)**
- **A comprehensive, in-depth study of the state of the nation's youth organizations to add to our understanding of successful youth work and to learn what can be done to aid them in their essential mission. (p. 75)**

> *Early in life we need to learn that volunteering is crucial in a democracy. The challenge is to balance one's own needs with a genuine responsiveness to others.*
>
> — Most Reverend Joseph M. Sullivan, Chairman of the Board of Directors, City Volunteer Corps, New York

Chapter 4

Pathways to Success: Citizenship through Service

Service as a Two-Way Street

The tradition in American schools—as though there was an official script—calls for students to memorize key passages from the great documents of American government and history. Their mastery of stirring and important material, such as the Preamble to the Constitution, is presumed to bond them to their country and its ideals. The study of US history and government is supposed to produce adults who value democratic traditions and shoulder responsibilities with their fellow citizens.

But the script does not always unfold that way. By one important measure—voter participation—it needs radical rewriting. Only 53.1 percent of eligible voters cared enough to vote in the 1984 presidential election, and voter turnouts decrease with level of earnings. While 76 percent of the people earning over $50,000 per year voted in 1984, only 38 percent of those earning $5,000 or less do so.[1]

Although the Commission reaffirms the obvious importance of learning the concepts and facts of American history and government, we strongly believe that *knowledge must be integrated with action in order to produce the desired outcome: a citizen participating fully in the responsibilities of community, state, and nation.*

That people need to help and care for one another is an idea as old as the first human communities and equally valid for a modern mass society. But too many Americans, especially the young, feel a debilitating sense of powerlessness in the face of large national and world issues that affect their lives but elude their control. The Commission believes this sense of futility, and the consequent preoccupation with self, can be redirected into an ethic of service and commitment to others.[2] When young people have a chance to act on their humanitarian ideals, they build self-respect and strong attachments to family and community. *There is virtually no limit to what young people—with appropriate education, training, and encouragement—can do, no social need they cannot help meet.* We reiterate: *Young people are essential resources, and society needs their active participation as citizens.*

Every community's voluntary sector offers young people varied opportunities to work on their own or with adults to promote social good. By engaging young people in the real challenges of community life, rather than isolating them from adult concerns, much needed work gets done with both youth and the society the better for it.[4]

If all young people—whether college-bound or members of the Forgotten Half—had opportunities to render needed service, they would come to understand that life is a process of both giving and getting. They would better appreciate that democracy involves a social compact in which society nurtures and cares for its young, and the young, in turn, care for the weak, the needy, the infirm, as well as the healthy and empowered members of society. They would

become contributors, problem-solvers, and partners with adults in improving their communities and the larger society.[5] If the service commitment begins early enough and continues into adulthood, participatory citizenship would become what Robert Bellah and his colleagues call "habits of the heart," family and community traditions of local political participation that sustain a person, a community, and a nation.[6]

> ***Generosity of spirit is thus the ability to acknowledge an interconnectedness—one's debts to society—that binds one to others whether one wants to accept it or not. It is also the ability to engage in the caring that nurtures that interconnectedness. It is a virtue that everyone should strive for . . . a conception of citizenship that is still alive in America.***
>
> — Robert Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart*[3]

Documentary evidence supports the value of service in young people's lives. According to one longitudinal study, graduates of experimental schools established in the 1930s that featured problem-solving curricula, extensive community learning opportunities, peer teaching, and student-faculty control over governance were more successful in life than students from schools that provided only limited opportunities of these types.[7] A tracking of 79 high school students who performed semester-long internships in four New York county governments reaffirmed the virtues of a community-based rather than a solely school-grounded approach to learning about the processes of government.[8] Similar outcomes emerge from a broad range of hands-on service and volunteer activities by young people throughout the nation.

Yet, reports from the 1980s are uneven. From the 1,103 respondents among 5,000 high schools surveyed by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching comes the heartening news that 70 percent had some form of student service program.[9] The nature and quality of those programs is, however, unknown, as is the state of service in the four-fifths of non-responding schools.

The same Carnegie study reported that only 20 percent or fewer of the students in those service-oriented high schools actually participated in the available service projects. According to the oft-quoted annual survey of a large sample of incoming college freshmen of the 1986-87 school year (209,627 students at 390 higher education institutions) by the American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles, only 39 percent, as compared to 83 percent in 1967, held that "developing a meaningful philosophy of life" was a major goal.[10] Nevertheless, in 1985, nearly 70 percent claimed to have performed volunteer service during the previous year. In 1985, too, a Gallup survey reported that 43 percent of the 18-24-year age group had actually done volunteer work that year.[11] Of course, the same person driven by a desire "to be well-off financially" (the ACE-UCLA poll put that total at 76 percent for the 1986 freshmen) could have an equally strong wish "to help the community." Or, perhaps, self-reporting of service performed could simply be a pitch to college admissions officers to look favorably on a well-rounded high school senior's application.

Kim Grose, a Stanford University sophomore active in campus-based service, cautions against drawing hasty conclusions about today's young people from any survey data cited or by reference to the tumultuous decade of the '60s:

> *Comparisons drawn between the student activism of the 1960s and the 1980s is often misleading because it gets caught up in '60s stereotypes and jargon and misses the true nature of*

volunteerism on campuses today. At my university, a school often looked upon as an elitist, career-oriented institution, public service is one of the strongest extra-curricular activities. Today's politically and socially active students are not only "hippie-throwbacks" or radicals; many are the same students who plan careers in engineering or business. They do not consider themselves crusaders and do not plan to spend their lives "changing the world." Students tutor, coach softball, paint playgrounds, and read to the elderly because they are interested in people, or because they want to learn a little about poverty and racism before they head out into the waiting corporate world. Or else they volunteer because they see their friends doing it, and it turns out to be fun.

Most students are very idealistic, and some wish to use their youthful energy to get involved in a poor community. Most have listened to their university president's speeches and feel some sense of obligation to repay society for the incredible opportunities open to them. Some will turn to politics, community organizing, or the Peace Corps after graduation as a way to help make the world a more just place. Many others have such enormous loan debts from high tuition costs that their career goals are aimed at law firms and investment banking firms, to satisfy their parents and creditors, not their own ideals.

None of us, no matter where our career paths take us, will ever forget the lessons we learned through volunteering in the community. We do not volunteer "to make a statement," or to use the people we work with to protest something. We try to see the homeless man, the hungry child, and the dying woman as the people they are, not the means to some political end.[12]

Whatever the motivation, opportunities for service beckon. The Commission believes strongly that closing the gap between rhetoric and performance would greatly benefit young people and communities alike.

The Benefits of Service

Educator Jane Kendall cites a prime benefit of service—more effective learning. She cautions, however, that *the best learning occurs when the initial, concrete service experience is followed by a period of disciplined reflection on the experience.* Time for talking, writing, and thinking about what they have done and seen allows the servers to assimilate and synthesize the experience, and later to test what they have learned in new situations. Reflection amplifies not only the service experience, but also the education and work experiences in the server's life.[13]

For the young person who engages in community service, the experience, if reinforced and rewarded, can be beneficial in several ways:

- It expands personal learning and social horizons far beyond home and classroom;
- It eases the often painful passage from school to work;
- It imparts a greater sense of the individual's personal worth and capabilities for leadership and problem-solving;

> ***"The youth population has been misnamed the self-centered generation. There's a strong desire to serve others. The problem we face in America today is not a lack of willingness to serve or help others but to find the appropriate outlet for this."***
>
> — George Gallup (1987)

- It bonds young people more securely and usefully to their communities and activates their civic knowledge in tangible ways:
- It creates genuine work and useful products of which youth and the community can be proud; and
- It teaches basic life skills needed for generic employability and enhances critical thinking skills.

These are significant benefits. But they resist easy categorization and quantification beyond the obvious generality that they all have to do with learning and personal development.

Service-learning offers a partial key to unlock the door that leads from school to work. Lauren Resnick of the Center for the Study of Learning at the University of Pittsburgh points out that students in school are judged by what they do individually. Outside of school, however, work is more often a collaborative enterprise and requires a person to mesh several talents and skills.[14] The experience of a group service project provides important job-readiness skills for the contemporary work world. According to Sue Berryman, Director of the National Center on Education and Employment at Teachers College, Columbia University, the restructuring of many jobs in today's market compels workers to see a project as a whole, find creative solutions to problems, and work cooperatively with others—qualities that also accompany service-learning, but not necessarily traditional didactic schooling.[15]

The service ethic can be instilled incrementally with experiences appropriate to the developmental age of participants—voluntary activity in the community promotes adolescent development more broadly.[16] Fresh Force of Minneapolis, a junior high school service corps, is an example of an effort to respond to the characteristics of the 11-15-year-old age group. In all nine junior highs where it operates, students are organized to propose and implement community service projects. The Pillsbury Company funds recognition events and arranges media coverage for students who contribute 30+ service hours. The United Way pays for a city-wide coordinator, affiliated with the YMCA. As early as possible—especially by junior high school, when energetic young people can often learn better by doing than by sitting passively in classrooms—service and reflection on that service ought to be a part of the regular school curriculum. And every student can gain by participating.

Amplifying these observations, pediatrician Melvin Levine, Director of the Clinical Center for the Study of Development and Learning at the University of North Carolina, argues that schools constrict the ways in which our young people can demonstrate their abilities. At the very time when youth require varied opportunities to learn and to do, schools often confine them to demonstrations of academic, verbal, and specific memory skills that receive high profile in most schools. If the student is not successful in those restricted definitions of competence, he or she is labeled a failure.[17] *Learning through serving is one method of experiential learning that could be used well with students who learn best by doing and by working with others, rather than solely by reading and rote learning.*

Stephen Hamilton and L. Mickey Fenzel found that, for 44 youth in 12 projects, volunteer work had positive effects on their social attitudes, their sense of themselves, and the knowledge and skills they exercised in their voluntary activities.[18] In another study by Conrad and Hedin of 27 variations of experiential education programs, students showed significant increases in moral reasoning, self-esteem, and social and personal responsibility, as well as improved attitudes toward adults, more interest in career exploration, and better problem-solving skills.[19]

Individual or group service-learning projects bestow different benefits. One-to-one service experiences often encourage close relationships between adults and youth and foster intergenerational understanding. Group projects, on the other hand, are more complex because they entail planning and cooperating with others in the work group. The group experience itself can be a powerful learning experience for young people, who thereby try out the roles of leadership and followership.[20]

Growing efforts use service models with at-risk youth. If increased self-esteem and job preparedness are the fruits of service-learning, the reasoning seems to go, then who in our population could better use this leg up than at-risk youth? In Pittsburgh's Oasis program, 100 at-risk seventh graders are enrolled in an education/community service program with the hope that these youth will stay in school and gain self-esteem, as well as serve their communities. In Indianapolis' Dropouts in Touch, older teens encourage younger students to remain in school. Former dropouts who have completed employment training draw on their personal, often negative, experiences to persuade young people to complete high school. Youth on probation assist senior

citizens with maintenance and clean-up activities in the Fountain Square section of Indianapolis, and young adolescents provide companionship services to the elderly.

The Commission believes that care must be taken that service projects are not designed primarily as devices to "rehabilitate" at-risk youth. This misses much of the true value of service, particularly its citizenship dimension. And we worry that service opportunities directed primarily to at-risk youth will stigmatize both these youth and the service concept. With this note of caution, we applaud service for *all* young people as an essential building block of citizenship. Moreover, because many young people need to work part-time, service should be an integral part of the regular school curricula and the service programs of community-based organizations, not an appendage to their lives or "another course" tacked on to their regular load.

> *Everyone can be great because everyone can serve.*
>
> — Martin Luther King, Jr.

Youth service yields substantial economic benefits to the community: in-kind contributions of labor and talent, future social welfare costs saved, and young people prepared for stable work and family life. An estimated 3.5 million full-time volunteers could meet numerous societal needs[21]—among them, at a conservative estimate, 500,000 nonprofessional workers in schools, 275,000 caring for severely restricted elderly and handicapped individuals, 225,000 in energy, environmental protection, and urban and rural conservation, 165,000 for services to children, youth, and families, and 200,000 in public safety.[22]

Young people now contribute at least 250 million hours of service annually through state, federal, and local programs. Youth Service America estimates that the monetary value of high school students contributing 17 million hours of unpaid service annually is $59.5 million (at $3.50 per hour). The 192 million service hours donated by college students, at an hourly wage of $5, represent a $940 million contribution. Youth corps members perform the remaining 41 million service hours.[23]

In short, service-learning promotes:

- increased competence, self-confidence, and self-esteem;
- experiences among people of diverse backgrounds;
- chances to learn in a different way—from doing, not from being told;
- experiences in problem-solving;
- empathy for others and working cooperatively with others;
- assumption of the responsibilities and obligations of life as well as the enjoyment of its privileges; and
- tangible public benefits to the community.

Even so, community service still faces formidable barriers in becoming a "habit of the heart." Only strong backing from policymakers will overcome the most obvious barriers: (1) unresponsive regulations regarding liability insurance, (2) the troublesome matter of transportation to and from sites, (3) inflexible school schedules, (4) coordination with the students' part-time jobs and other responsibilities, and, most especially, (5) policymakers and educators who believe that service is "tangential," "a nice frill, not integral to sound education."

Good service programs do not just happen. Nor can service be "neatly wrapped and tied when so many hours have been donated, journals written, credit and/or grades given." The spark plug of a service program is the adult leader who motivates young people to go deeper—not merely to serve, but to understand and act on that understanding.[24] Service-learning programs with dedicated adult supervisors and committed administrators can match young people with appropriate service slots and monitor the quality of their actual experiences. Cursory exposure to service will

not satisfy the goals of service. Only programs that properly train and engage the participants and provide an atmosphere for serious reflection on the meaning and impact of the experience are ultimately worthwhile.[25] If it is to succeed in its noble goals, a service-learning program cannot exist without forceful public policy and careful attention to both purpose and details.

- The Governor's School in the State of Washington trains students from different socio-economic backgrounds to develop and lead service projects.
- In Atlanta, where service is considered part of an essential trio along with education and employment, students must complete 75 hours of unpaid service between grades 9 and 11, and seniors must take a course on "Duties to the Community." All students keep journals and a log of their after-school, weekend, and holiday service work.
- In Springfield, Massachusetts, under the active sponsorship of the mayor and the superintendent of schools, every student in grades K-12 is expected to perform community service integrated with the academic curriculum.
- About a quarter of the nation's independent schools require some form of service as part of the regular curriculum. Several public high schools in Minnesota require service. Banneker High School, a magnet academic school in Washington, DC, requires 270 hours and Metro High School in St. Louis 240 hours of service for graduation.
- Youth Community Service, a joint project of the Constitutional Rights Foundation and the Los Angeles Unified School District, is the largest program of all. Now in its fourth year, it operates in 22 Los Angeles high schools and involves over 5,000 students, largely minority, in service.[27]
- The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching recommended that a new Carnegie unit for service be included in the graduation requirements of all high schools.[28]

> *Service is needed to allow us to have a future. . . .our society has needs which cannot be met except through service. Service is our ticket to a viable future. It is essential and not a luxury.*
>
> — Hans Huessy, College of Medicine, University of Vermont

Service: A Requirement for Everyone?

School-based voluntary service programs are gaining momentum. Slowly, but steadily, the main messages are taking hold. Local and state agencies are testing new structures and outreach methods, while communities, schools and colleges, local organizations, and governments are expanding service programs.[26] In 1986, two major national education associations, the Council of Chief State School Officers and the National Association of State Boards of Education, published comprehensive guidelines for state agencies wishing to undertake service programs. The CCSSO-NASBE guidelines, and several follow-up meetings to gain feedback on the implementation of service programs, demonstrate the growing interest and commitment of educational policymakers.

An expanding pattern of policy actions and program initiatives across the country, many strongly supported by governors such as Rudy Perpich (MN), George Deukmejian (CA), Richard Celeste (OH), Madeleine Kunin (VT), and Robert Casey (PA), provide examples such as these:

- Vermont requires all students to complete a research or citizenship project which many fulfill through service. SerVermont combines a "bottom-up" design in which student-faculty teams create service projects in their communities.

- The State of Maryland requires all high schools to offer service as an elective, while the Regents' Action Plan in New York calls for a required senior course in government participation that includes a practicum in school, community, or government service.

Several national efforts facilitate service. Youth Service America, acting as an information clearinghouse, reports on over 50 state and local full-time youth corps, nearly 500 campus-based service programs, and more than 3,000 school-based programs and offers technical assistance to start youth service programs. Youth Service America and the Campus Outreach Opportunity League sponsored "A Day in the Life of Service" on October 13, 1988 to call attention to the preponderance of the three streams of service activity in America: in schools, on campuses, and in youth corps. The National Society for Internships and Experiential Education houses a national information center on service and provides a national talent bank and technical and professional assistance to those institutions interested in service-learning projects. A guidebook, by Dan Conrad and Diane Hedin for the Independent Sector, provides yet another valuable tool for start-up and evaluation of service programs.[29]

Two organizations—Campus Compact: The Project for Public and Community Service, a project of the Education Commission of the States, and the Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL), a network of student-run service programs — involve college students and their institutions in service. Campus Compact encourages college students to become mentors for at-risk youth, while COOL provides a clearinghouse for 450 college student-run service programs.[30] At Washington University in St. Louis, where an estimated 25 percent of the students volunteer, the dean of students says that the engine driving volunteerism, now as always, is youthful idealism and that service allows students to transcend themselves and find meaning, fulfillment, and self-definition.

The Commission believes that more extensive involvement would produce the same result for more young people if the service ethic were an integral part of the educational system, beginning with kindergarten and the early grades. ***The Commission recommends creation of quality opportunities for service, as central to the fundamental educational program of every public school, including (a) either a requirement that each school provide opportunities to every student for a voluntary service-learning program built on good practices which is eligible for elective credit toward graduation, or a graduation requirement of a specified amount of service; and (b) age-appropriate curricula and instruction, including both service and class-based reflection, during each year from kindergarten through the twelfth grade.*** Service-learning programs can include provisions for coordination and supervision in te schools, meaningful service sites in communities, and recognition award ceremonies for those involved in service. The resolve and cooperation of school boards, administrators, coordinators, and teachers can ensure that service become a part of the regular academic program of all schools. Local, state, and national resources, secured from private and public sources, can make quality service opportunities a reality.

The Commission believes that decisions about how to structure community service must remain in the hands of schools and communities. We urge, however, that local programs pay careful attention to the criteria we have set out when they begin service programs, especially regarding genuine engagement (rather than mere exposure to service), time for reflection, and a clear mission statement backed up by committed personnel to administer and monitor service-learning programs. ***The Commission encourages states not merely to adopt youth service policies, but to provide local school boards and jurisdictions with financial and technical assistance to make them quality experiences for America's young people.***

The Case for Youth Volunteer Corps

In addition to school-based service-learning programs, youth corps membership offers a way for young adults to develop or continue the service habit. The Peace Corps, VISTA, and National Health Service Corps are the best-known national examples of such service. A growing number of voluntary youth corps in cities, counties, and states fuse the environmental and human service needs of communities with the equally important need for youth to serve. These full-time corps programs pay participants minimum wage for service, often offer educational opportunities, and perform beneficial community service.

Most state and local youth corps participants, dropouts and high school graduates alike, have traditionally been young people who need a second chance to make something of their lives. Increasingly, however, youth from all walks of life are

It's two degrees above zero at 8 am as the last of nine Chicago Youth Corps workers files into the Urban Programs West office on Chicago's West Side. The crew members are lucky today: they'll be working inside at the Garfield Park Conservatory. A couple of weeks ago they were working outside in these temperatures, mulching, wrapping, and pruning trees on a park district golf course.[31]

When David Russell of Manhattan's Upper West Side graduated from prep school and entered college, he wasn't thinking about helping others for a living. 'You go to high school, you try to get into the right college, you try to take the right major to get the best job to make a lot of money. It's all you, you, you. But I took a year off and learned about working with people.'[32]

deciding that youth corps offer valuable routes to experience that help them later in choosing work, training, service in the armed forces, or college. The Corps' main goal is preparation for life, including finding out what it means to be a caring and contributing member of the community. But they pursue other important goals as well: improving job readiness, learning to work with others, enhancing basic learning skills, and starting or continuing college study. For many, service means broadening perspectives about different racial or ethnic groups and thinking about college careers in human services. For all, "the corps programs aim to instill a sense of the value of work, a feeling of civic responsibility, and a sense of self-worth by doing environmental protection, physical development, and human service work that is clearly needed but would otherwise not be done."[33]

To meet goals of service and job readiness, several program components are key. Well-trained crew leaders, who have daily contact with corps members, are critical to corps' success. They are responsible for job supervision, individual and group counseling, and ongoing assessment and motivation.[34] Many corps offer opportunities for education—General Education Development Certificate (GED) preparation, instruction in English as a second language, or college courses. Corps in cities, counties, and states incorporate general goals in a variety of ways determined locally.

The number of youth corps is growing steadily. Currently, the 50 year-round or summer state and local corps operate with 50,000 participants annually and budgets totalling $145 million.[35] Several states have launched or expanded youth service corps, broadening them to urban areas and including human services as well as conservation work. The Congress is considering legislation to boost both conservation and human service corps.

A way of computing the value of youth corps service is to calculate the costs of the service if performed by an alternative supplier. For example, the Forest Service receives an estimate of $456,000 to complete a project; the local conservation corps performs the same service for $200,000. After computing the cost savings and the program costs (including minimum wage salaries for participants), one study by Public/Private Ventures of the California Conservation Corps estimates $1.34 in benefits for each $1 spent by the program. The estimate of the Human Environment Center of Washington, DC, a clearinghouse for youth corps programs, is higher: $1.60 in public benefit for each $1 spent by the Corps. This cost analysis includes only

immediate benefits—not the long-term value of the work performed, the human potential enhanced, or the social costs avoided.

Following a long tradition of service in American history—the Civilian Conservation Corps under Franklin Roosevelt, the Peace Corps under John Kennedy, VISTA under Lyndon Johnson, ACTION under Richard Nixon, Youth Conservation Corps under Jimmy Carter—the California Conservation Corps, started in 1976 under Governor Jerry Brown, became a permanent state agency in 1983 under Governor George Deukmejian. The CCC has had 36,000 participants, including 2,200 this year. Its current budget of $58 million provides more than three million hours of public service conservation work and emergency assistance to the state each year.

Other state corps operate in a variety of ways. The Wisconsin Corps has a two-year $4 million budget to support 65 predominantly rural projects and 750 participants. The Corps is 28 percent women, 19 percent minorities, and four percent persons with disabilities. In Maryland, the Department of Natural Resources coordinates and funds 24 county programs. The Washington State Service Corps focuses entirely on human service projects.

Cities, too, are active in the youth corps movement. San Francisco Conservation Corps (SFCC) graduates are sought-after employees because of the skills they have learned and the attitudes about work they have acquired. The Corps, which began its program with community development block grants, is partially funded by payments for the services it performs. For example, one work crew our Commission visited is learning advanced carpentry and construction skills by converting a cavernous former embarkation pier at Fort Mason into a community theater and cultural center. New corps programs, however, need start-up money before they can establish a reputation for service deserving of public and private contracts.

The Fairmont Park Urban Ranger Program, created by the William Penn Foundation of Philadelphia, combines service, employment training, and college studies. This new $13 million project serves 80 young people who have completed high school, but need additional training and job opportunities. At the end of four years, there will be 120 fully-trained Rangers who have also completed two years of course work at Temple University. The goal of the uniformed Rangers is to restore and maintain Fairmont Park as a place of beauty, safety, and civic pride.

The City Volunteer Corps of New York City (CVC), with an annual $8 million budget from the city, has pioneered volunteer efforts in human service delivery. Conscious of the need for broad economic and ethnic participation, CVC has also started a summer program for high school youth who work full-time in the summer and part-time during the school year. In Summer 1988, CVC instituted a small program for students already in college in the city, offering summer stipends and bonuses for one and two semesters of part-time Corps work while continuing college. The 600 CVC volunteers fan out daily across the city in their uniforms sporting the CVC Big Apple logo. Their projects are located in city parks, building rehabilitation, centers for retarded adults, nursing homes, and schools. Every three months the volunteers change projects so that participants have environmental, construction, and human service work experiences during a one-year period. CVC also offers completion incentives: $2,500 for those who complete one year of service or $5,000 toward college for those who choose to resume their studies.

The New York City model spawned Youth Volunteer Corps of Greater Kansas City in which 40 percent of the first 76 volunteers were minority group members. A recent urban corps effort, Boston's 'City Year' adds the feature of adult mentors from the civic and business community who are paired with youth corps participants. Organizer Michael Brown says, "We see youth service as a way to break down barriers. . . .This is citizenship at the broadest level."

Public/Private Ventures, a research and evaluation institute based in Philadelphia, studied nine representative corps programs across the nation and in Canada that have similar goals but different settings and approaches. P/PV found that:[36]

- The Corps produced a large volume of quality work of considerable value to the communities in which they operate.
- The traditional rural corps model of physical work has been successfully translated in the urban environment to human service work.
- Youth corps do not include diverse populations; most are fairly homogeneous, with populations that have major educational and economic needs.
- Corps are highly successful in promoting youth development through the work process and team involvement, but less successful in improving basic skills and educational attainment.

- Programs produce in-program benefits for all corpsmembers and significant post-program economic benefits for disadvantaged corps members.
- Non-economic benefits were mixed, depending on whether or not explicit mechanisms were in place to achieve them.
- A cost/benefit analysis of the California Conservation Corps shows that the combined value of its work and impact on post-program earnings very nearly equals the cost of running the corps and that this finding is likely to be true of other corps as well.

The most serious concerns of the P/PV assessment have to do with the important relationship between education and work. Youth corps programs, particularly newer ones, are seeking solutions by variously mandating that all youth participate in a formal educational component, offering individually-based competency remediation, or awarding cash scholarships for completion of the program. In addition, a lack of diversity in most corps populations means that stimulating interaction among participants from different backgrounds is often missing.[37]

One-third of SFCC volunteers drop out in the first month despite the lure of a $100 bonus for 60 days of perfect attendance. The attrition rate of New York City's CVC, 25 percent in 1988, decreased gradually over its five-year history as different approaches to retain Corps members were successful. Local situations demand local solutions. What works for some will not work for all. *The Commission strongly supports the youth corps concept and encourages—as elsewhere in this report—the use of diverse methods to achieve the same goals: that youth learn, work, participate, and contribute.* We suggest state and local planners consult the experience of existing programs before they design their own. Briefly stated, experienced corps leaders recommend that corps:

- promote the idea that communities need young people just as youth need community support;
- provide work and life skills and continuing education for corpsmembers;
- serve a public need by producing tangible products that have lasting value and economic benefit to their communities; and
- be environmentally sound.[38]

One novel way to finance these youth corps, which cost money despite the benefits they bring, is the California Bottle Bill. The legislation places a one cent surcharge on all beverage bottles sold in the state with a percentage of this revenue earmarked for the state's seven urban service corps. (Pending legislation would substantially increase both the tax and funding for service corps.)

The relationship of youth corps to community business and industry is clear. Chevron loaned a personnel specialist to the San Francisco Conservation Corps. An Oregon logging company retained the corps for after-cut environmental restoration. A New Jersey Corps branch is starting a small business with help from the private sector. Each Boston 'City Year' service team is financed by a Boston area corporation. Conservationists, the elderly, and community safety organizers—interests and constituencies served by youth—need to be enlisted to support other youth corps activities.

Based on the positive results of programs from around the country, ***the Commission encourages communities to expand youth corps programs and to combine support from business, local foundations, city and state resources, and grants from organizations that are natural allies of the youth corps movement to begin or extend youth corps programs.***

We also recommend that the many existing organizations interested in expanding the practice of youth service unite in one nationwide service federation. In such unity lies additional influence and greater fundraising ability, which can speed the day when youth service programs are available throughout the land.

Toward National Service?

The issue of national service has been simmering on the back burner for some time. The US Congress is considering several efforts to encourage local and state youth service programs. H.R. 18, the proposed Youth Service Corps Act, for example, would establish: (1) an American Conservation Service to improve, restore, maintain, and conserve public lands and resources, and (2) a National Youth Service to encourage young persons to participate in voluntary human service projects.[41] The programs would be open to young people age 16 to 25 throughout the year and age 15-21 during the summer. The proposed legislation would:

- encourage states and localities to launch their own youth corps activities;

- provide matching funds for start-up and planning of youth corps; and
- offer technical assistance to start-up projects to train successful planners and workers.

In addition, the Act calls for the creation of a 32-member Commission on Service Opportunities to examine major issues associated with national service.

A 1988 report of the Democratic Leadership Council added another ingredient to the debate over national service. It proposes voluntary national service with accompanying incentives to persuade many high school graduates, from all economic strata, to choose one or two years of service. The plan would replace existing financial aid grants and loans with vouchers available to youth who complete national service in one of three ways: citizen corps (1-2 years), citizen soldiers (2 years), or career military (4 year minimum). Paralleling a new GI Bill, the proposal offers benefits to the individual and society, a stimulus for more young people to attend college, and long-term financial benefits to the nation in tax revenues and service performed.[43]

> *National service should be open to all but required of none; it should develop gradually; it should be as decentralized as possible but with federal government underwriting; . . . participants would both serve and learn. . .*[39]
>
> *For many years we talked about a national service program at the federal level, but we forgot to remember that a national program is not the same thing as a federal program. In the last three or four years, it has been most gratifying to see what's happening at the grass roots level. We really have a national program, but it's happening where it ought to happen—at the state level, at the city level, at the community level, and not adding just another federal program.*[40]

The Commission on Youth and America's Future warmly supports legislation that would provide federal funding to launch youth service programs provided that states and communities would retain wide latitude in the design of programs that meet local needs and preferences. We also support a revitalization of such important national service corps as the Peace Corps and VISTA. Serious consideration should be given to proposals for a National Youth Conservation Corps to work primarily in our national parks, wilderness areas, and national forests.

In 1986, the Coalition for a Democratic Majority proposed voluntary national service that would establish a civilian service component and make federal aid to college students contingent on their "performance of civic duties—either military or civilian."[42]

The Commission does not endorse a model that ties all education aid to student service. Such legislation would require the poor to serve as a condition of obtaining postsecondary education, while allowing the wealthy to study without assuming any comparable civic obligation. Nevertheless, we recognize this proposal as a possible platform from which to initiate serious discussion about how to combine the three attributes our young people strive for: (1) a sound educational background in high

school and postsecondary skills training or college, (2) an economic base from which to build healthy family life, which includes affordable housing and health care, and (3) an opportunity and an obligation to serve and to practice the responsibilities of citizenship. A comprehensive debate over national service is beyond the scope of this Commission, but we support all responsible efforts to bring such a discussion to the forefront.

Service is the most concrete way to inculcate the ideal of reciprocity and civic responsibility that is at the heart of this nation's democratic traditions. It is in giving that one receives, as it is in loving that one is loved.[44] The Commission believes that youth will be better learners, workers, and citizens if they practice serving others early and regularly in their lives.

PATHWAYS TO SUCCESS:

Recommendations

At the core of citizenship is the willingness to contribute to the common good. When young people are asked to channel their idealism and energy into helping others and solving community problems, they build respect for themselves and attachments to others. Therefore, we recommend:

- **Creation of quality student service opportunities as central to the fundamental educational program of every public school including (a) *either* a requirement that each school provide opportunities to every student for a voluntary service-learning program eligible for elective credit toward graduation, *or* a graduation *requirement* of a specified amount of service; and (b) age-appropriate curricula and instruction, including both service and class-based reflection, during each year from kindergarten through twelfth grade. (p. 85)**
- **State-level encouragement of local school jurisdiction efforts to enlist the young in serving their communities including the provision of sufficient financial and technical assistance to ensure high quality programs. (p. 85)**
- **Financial support from business, local foundations, city and state resources, and grants from organizations whose constituencies are served by youth—the elderly, neighborhood organizations, and conservationists—to ensure that the maturing effects of service to others will be available to all youth; and the use of diverse methods to achieve the goals that youth learn, work, participate, and contribute. (pp. 88)**
- **Unification of the many existing organizations interested in expanding youth service into one nationwide service federation. (p. 88)**
- **Support for federal financial assistance to launch youth service programs as proposed in several Congressional bills currently under consideration, provided that states and communities retain wide latitude in the design of programs that meet local needs. (p. 89)**
- **Revitalization of existing national service programs such as VISTA and the Peace Corps, and serious consideration to proposals for a National Youth Conservation Corps to work primarily in national parks, wilderness areas, and national forests. (p. 89)**

There has never been a reasonable and working relationship in the United States between programs in education and programs in employment and job training. And there has never been a coherent, agreed upon policy regarding how schools, job trainers and employers should relate to one another.

— Frank J. Macchiarola[1]

Chapter 5

Pathways to Success: Toward Better Jobs for the Forgotten Half

In Chapter 1, we revisited a central finding of our Interim Report, namely: *Although students may work hard through the 12 grades of school, may compile adequate records, and may graduate in good standing, and their teachers may have effectively taught them the basic skills, they are still likely to encounter problems in getting started in a productive career. The primary problem lies with the economy, and the paths for youth to enter it, rather than with the youth themselves. Education can certainly help, but it is no cure-all for massive changes in the labor market.*[2]

In this chapter, we examine several dimensions of current employer-youth relationships with one central question in mind: *what can be done to provide more and better jobs and training for the youth and young adults who generally comprise the Forgotten Half?* We propose no grand new schemes but, rather, patient and persistent building on tested programs and practices that offer Pathways to Success for our youth and young families.

We recognize that youth's claims on career jobs carrying decent wages and benefits are perhaps no stronger than those of other groups in society that also seek their chance at realizing the American Dream. We conclude, however, that much has been learned in years of experimentation, much can be done to give youth a helping hand, and, as never before, such aid is in both the nation's and employers' self-interest.

Post-World War II government efforts to improve the employability of non-college-bound youth have produced varying outcomes. Some programs have dramatically altered the lives of young participants; others are generally deemed to have failed.[3] The record for training and employment opportunities created by business has also been spotty. But business now has significant impetus for participating in school-business-government connections. The issue is no longer solely one of local civic-mindedness, public relations, or generalized altruism. The demographic reality of a smaller youth population—increasingly poor, minority, and unprepared for the world of work—has penetrated corporate consciousness. There is mounting evidence that progressive businesses understand that the private sector's future will be shaped largely by what they and the rest of our society do about the training and employment of the Forgotten Half.

In other words, the lack of educational skills and work readiness are not just concerns of underprepared youth. They are increasingly on the agenda of our economy's leaders. Investment in people, particularly the young, is increasingly viewed, especially in the activities and reports of the Committee for Economic Development and the National Alliance of Business, as a good business investment, a form of economic insurance. Business understands that its productivity, its markets, and its future earnings are dependent on the quality of human resources in its own workforce *and*

in the nation at large. Instead of bemoaning the "laziness" of unemployed teenagers and the burden of tax money required to pay for AFDC and unemployment compensation, employers worry more about whether they will have enough qualified young workers to make their own firms viable and American society sound and strong. "Business's concern for education," says Alcoa's former chairman and chief executive officer Charles Parry, "is based on a powerful fact of life: education provides us a capable workforce, with communities in which we can live and operate, and ultimately with a prosperous marketplace."[4]

> *Social welfare programs may be a matter of ethics and generosity, but education and training are not. I am willing to pay for, indeed insist upon, the education of my neighbors' children not because I am generous but because I cannot afford to live with them uneducated.*
>
> —Lester C. Thurow[5]

A Positive Shift Among Top Business Leaders

Estimates of the dollar value of annual business contributions to public schools nationwide generally peak at $25 million, an amount that might cover a single day or two of operations in New York City's schools. Business has no legal obligation to donate money, equipment, or personnel, and education is properly grateful for what it receives. But it is a tiny drop in a Gargantuan bucket.

Increasingly, however, the occupants of business's executive suites recognize a need for higher levels of commitment of human and financial resources to the schools. In spring 1987, senior officials of Alcoa, AT&T, State Street Bank of Boston, Pacific Telesis Group of Los Angeles, and Primerica Corporation made history in testimony urging the US Congress to renew Chapter 1 of the Elementary and Secondary School Act for disadvantaged youth. The chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor, Augustus Hawkins, observed that this powerful corporate voice made a difference in getting the legislation extended and, in fact, expanded.[6] Later in 1987, the prestigious Committee for Economic Development (CED), which two years earlier had broken new ground with a report calling for comprehensive reforms, including preschool interventions for disadvantaged children starting at age three,[7] reentered "The Great School Debate." It placed traditionally skeptical business leaders squarely behind such once-unthinkable services as pre- and postnatal care for pregnant teenagers and other high-risk mothers, parenting education, and innovative, high-cost childcare arrangements for poor working parents "that stress social development and school readiness."[8]

Big business, or at least its progressive CED representation and corporate leaders who testified before Congress, is on record as favoring an even more comprehensive blueprint for school improvement than many politicians and school boards are prepared to fund. Yet, this expansive view does not satisfy some executives. Xerox Corporation Chief David T. Kearns, for one, believes that most business-school partnerships are grossly inadequate. It is time, says Kearns, for business "to force the agenda for school reform" and for the nation to have "a new public school system characterized by accountability and performance, a system that would be restructured to stress free market choice, a high-quality teaching corps, high academic standards, traditional values, and an appropriate federal role."[9]

This evident outpouring of business concern over the quality of the schools—or more pointedly, the calibre of tomorrow's workers—adds heft to the drive to improve

the schools. It nevertheless merits a cautionary note. For one thing, the giants and superstars of industry cannot speak for small and middle-sized businesses, which employ most young workers but have only limited resources for pursuing business-school connections or, for that matter, for upgrading the skills of their own workforce. Indeed, the titans themselves may be hard-pressed to speak confidently for their own firms, where notions about contributions to social progress and the interests of stockholders do not always coexist harmoniously.

Educators may respect the good intentions of the CED and NAB and of the still relatively few business leaders who have spoken out, but they are aware of the reality that many in the business community remain skeptical about the schools' performance and are not yet involved with the schools in major ways. Many educators also remain somewhat ambivalent about the need to prepare better-educated future workers, especially when local businesses demand that students be trained for specific, low-level jobs. Generally, they find it more congenial to their own training and to public pressures to concentrate on raising the test scores of college-bound students.

California State Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig, however, has joined with his state's business leadership to launch a new generation of school-business partnerships that seeks to harness substantial business support for enhanced achievement on the part of all the state's students. We shall take a closer look at the newly-launched California Compact later in this chapter as well as in **Appendix D**.

Employers and Out-of-Work Youth

Beyond the expanding and still incubating world of school-business partnerships, the picture for out-of-school students who wish to be hired and trained on the job becomes clouded. It is hardly a revelation that industrial enterprises and non-profit human service employers alike are markedly reluctant to place some members of the Forgotten Half on their payrolls in permanent, full-time jobs with career-ladder or other advancement potential. R. E. Heckert, chairman of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, put it bluntly to the Subcommittee on Education and Health of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee: "We do not employ people who do not have the basic skills because they are not able to benefit from the training programs that we offer, and they are dangerous to themselves and to others in the workplace . . . there is a limit to how far back we can and should go in training workers. Teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic on a large scale is not our role, and neither is the teaching of values."[10] The theme of this representative statement is echoed throughout the job market, where skill-deficient and at-risk youth remain at or near the end of the employment line.

In some respects, employers are more demanding than ever; in others, less so. Many employers now seek social rather than technical competence because they are uncertain of the proficiency of many young products of vocational or general education. Especially highly valued is a willingness to work combined with the ability to take the initiative and "to put out the extra energy required to think independently."[11] Employers prize applicants' facility in effective communication, a competence that can no longer be taken for granted—even among college graduates. Of at least equal weight, too, are such intangibles as moral character and the work ethic, which some employers contend are declining at an alarming rate.

The perceived shortcomings of the schools, family life, and society at large in readying youth for a respectable place in the working world have been exhaustively chronicled. What gives these problems particular urgency are the demographic facts of life that we have repeatedly mentioned: the decline in the size of the 16-24- year age group from nearly 23 percent of the nation's population (civilian and non-institutional) in 1978 to a projected 15-16 percent in 1995, and the steady growth of an educationally at-risk, substantially minority youth population during that same period.[12] Assuming an even modest economic expansion, employers in the aggregate will have to dip more deeply into the less well-prepared segment of the entry-level youth employment pool. This is not an altogether happy prospect, either for business firms that must stress productivity, efficiency, and profits, or for non-profit organizations with their emphasis on delivering effective service, or for the armed forces with their increasingly technical needs. At a minimum, entering employees must possess the educational, personal, and interpersonal skills synonymous with trainability, and they should be compatible with the work environment, notably as team players—a quality that, except for athletics, today's schools may not actively promote.

Employers and the Schools: Struggling Partnerships

The linkage between employers and the schools has waxed and waned throughout most of the twentieth century. Although they share countless common concerns, their differences—in outlook, core values, views on the role of education, and ultimate commitments—remain substantial. Each can beneficially promote some of the other's interests, but they sometimes make an odd couple. The schools are unwilling and statutorily unable to relinquish their sovereignty, while employers are understandably reluctant to create permanent berths with advancement potential for young people whose only evidence of accomplishment may be that they have somehow survived and graduated from the public schools. For the lowest-achieving members of the Forgotten Half, who may have completed only nine or ten of the 12-year route to a diploma, school-employer links are still tenuous, if they exist at all.

The data on school-business partnerships are, paradoxically, both fragmentary and overwhelming. The US Department of Education claims that 60,000 business-sponsored projects dotted the school landscape in 1986. According to a study by Teachers College's Dale Mann, in which the reasons businesses gave for involving themselves with the schools from 1983 to 1987 were tabulated, business involvement is generated largely by the personal concerns of top executives, corporate interests, and altruism.

Accommodations between schools and workplaces are clearly on the rise, and the willingness of leaders of both sectors to promote it has gained wide acceptance. But the definition of what constitutes a truly functional school-business partnership remains vague. Some common forms of partnership include adopt-a-school arrangements, gifts or loans of microcomputers, time off for company employees willing to tutor students,* cash contributions to selected schools, and political support for greater public funding. In most school partnerships, business representatives prefer to focus their energies on "projects, discrete activities, particular things, events, persons, and even students."[13] Progress with the basic skills of literacy and numeracy are particularly important to the business partner. At the other end of the spectrum, too many partnerships involve only superficial business support for booster clubs or free film-strips about "economic education," that is, the free enterprise system.

Few business respondents report "dissatisfaction with the quality of job applicants."[14] A National Alliance of Business survey repeatedly mentioned job preparation and employability as key motivating factors in the formation of partnerships. NAB's accompanying profiles of attractive partnerships[15] suggest that business is willing to create opportunities *if* the schools hold up their end of the bargain and send prepared entry-level workers. Yet, even in the closest, most enlightened employer-trainee relationships, most firms must consider several factors before offering employment, even to qualified young people. These factors may include the current and projected health of the company, the applicant's adaptability and potential for learning new technologies, and the status and prospects of those already on the payroll.

As the pace of technological change quickens, the largest and most progressive corporations are increasingly concerned with qualifications that indicate applicants' abilities to learn and change with the times: students' accomplishments in basic academic skills, their willingness to work hard, and their capacity to think. A steady drumbeat of criticism from all quarters has stirred grave doubts that the schools can prepare qualitatively adequate human power to keep our economy competitive in an increasingly sophisticated world market. However, a substantial portion of American business still expects the schools to train students for current technologies. According to this view, the schools should graduate students—signed, sealed, and delivered—who can do a particular entry-level job without much investment by the company in initial training. Whether this should be the highest priority, or even a key responsibility, of our public schools is still

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* Employers are an increasingly important source of volunteers for schools and a broad variety of other social institutions. Employee volunteer programs, encouraged by many leading corporations, contribute over 50 million hours of community service annually with a value of about $400 million. (Center for Corporate Community Relations, Boston College, *Community Relations Letter*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1987, p. 1.)

being debated. Job readiness, narrowly defined, is an appealing political argument, and one used by legislators and business leaders alike in their drive to garner more resources for the schools.[16]

Ardent public school defenders agree that producing job-ready graduates has not been the schools' strong suit, at least not since the mid-1960s when the pace of technological change overwhelmed the school's ability to finance the requisite equipment and provide up-to-date instruction.

The general job readiness and basic academic skills advocated by progressive businesses is, of course, problematic. Kearns, of Xerox, reminds us that "America's public schools graduate 700,000 functionally illiterate kids every year . . . and 700,000 more drop out."[17] (Definitions of functional literacy vary widely,[18] but even if there were a smaller number of "only" 100,000 functionally illiterate high school graduates each year, that would clearly be unacceptable.) In sharp contrast, what American business needs, says Kearns, are

> *workers who not only are proficient in the basic skills, but who know how to think and can communicate what they're thinking. We need workers who can adjust to change, who can absorb new ideas and share them easily with others. In short, we need people who have learned how to learn.*[19]

How do America's students as potential workers stack up against such expectations? Certainly, our schools are not the unmitigated disaster areas that some critics would have us believe. Rather, as Paul E. Barton, Associate Director of the Nation's Report Card, National Assessment of Education Progress, recently told an audience of business leaders convened by The Conference Board,[20] "the story is not as simple as you might like it to be, nor wholly as devastating as you may fear it is." Barton reports that the National Assessment documents public school performance trends like these over the past two decades:

- We are gaining in equality of educational achievement.
- Our high school students read rather well (at least compared to the common understanding) and write quite poorly. Our students were better readers in 1984 than in 1971, resulting largely from raising more students to minimal levels than lifting more to advanced levels. While gaps narrowed, they are still huge. In 1984, black and Hispanic 17-year-olds read only about as well as 13-year-old white students. In writing, we have not lost ground since 1974, but are not far above ground either.
- Our young adults are largely literate, but they fail alarmingly at many common tasks described to them through print.
- The proportions reaching a higher-order, or critical thinking level, is seriously inadequate.
- In mathematics, recent national trends are somewhat encouraging, particularly for students ages 9 and 17. Subpopulations of students who performed comparatively poorly in past assessments have shown significant improvement in average proficiency since 1978. At all tested ages, black and Hispanic students made appreciable gains, as did students living in the Southeast. However, the gains have been confined primarily to lower-order skills. The highest level of performance attained by any substantial proportion of students in 1986 reflects only moderately complex skills and understandings. Most students, even at age 17, do not possess the breadth and depth of mathematics proficiency needed for advanced study in secondary school mathematics.[21]
- The computer competence and experience of youth in low-income, largely minority big city schools is clearly below that of suburban, largely white schools.[22]

Against this backdrop of educational need, it is clear that the most common level of business involvement in the schools to date is insufficient. It is what Ted Kolderie calls "tinkering at the margin," or the rough equivalent of "doing your daughter's homework . . . a kindness, but a misdirected kindness."[23]

Employer and Public Training Programs

Federal policy has long encouraged local partnerships between employers and employment training providers. The Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) of 1982 is the principal governmental response to the training and employment dilemmas of the disadvantaged. JTPA differs significantly from its far larger predecessor, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), in that JTPA assigns primary executive responsibility to state governors and to established public-private partnerships that theoretically control all aspects of local programs. According to a General Accounting Office report on 15 representative JTPA service delivery areas

(SDAs), a strong majority of the members of the powerful private industry councils (PICs) were, as the Act requires, the owners and senior executives of local business interests.

From its inception, JTPA, a solely federally-funded program, generally underserved those with the greatest educational deficits despite explicit set-asides and other legislative stipulations that they be served.[24] Because the JTPA legislation provides only limited support services and little in the way of childcare or training stipends, its trainees have not had the comprehensive range of supports necessary to achieve genuine, long-term success. Exceptions abound, but JTPA's efforts appear to have been targeted more on the needs of private business than on the needs of our *poorest* youth. It is both easier and safer to train and hire the most promising of the poor rather than the most seriously at-risk, and that is what most private firms apparently prefer to do.[25]

If the record of JTPA and countless other programs demonstrate anything, it is that existing incentives for firms and operators of JTPA programs to hire young people at risk are insufficient. It is one thing for businesses to participate enthusiastically in community development affairs, especially with federal subsidies in hand; it is quite another for them to allocate significant chunks of their own budgets to hiring—and nurturing to advancement—unskilled, poorly educated, and socially inept young people. These are expensive commitments, and dollars and cents, not "social responsibility," are what most business leaders say they are about. Filling vacant slots in their companies with inadequately prepared workers simply violates sensible managerial practice. But the architects of social policy do not agree. They contend, as do many responsible citizens, progressive employers, and this Commission, that *both business and the non-profit sector must share responsibility, along with government, for the community's social and economic well-being and must continue a vigorous search for ways to "ratchet up" the hardest to serve in our society.*

Sharing this responsibility may not always be as onerous as many employers assume. Too often, for example, applicants are rejected solely because they lack a high school diploma or fail to achieve a particular score on a general, written test. Although paper credentials may be relevant to some jobs, other jobs require skills and abilities not taught in school or captured by paper- and pencil tests. Many young job seekers deserve a second look as a fuller and fairer test of their present worth or future trainability. ***The Commission recommends that businesses, whenever possible, develop alternative hiring criteria—a performance test and/or a trial employment period in lieu of a paper credential like a high school diploma—to fairly identify promising job candidates.***

The Interim Report of this Commission described a range of interventions and action programs, some well-tested and others only recently off the drawing boards, designed to acquaint policy-shapers with workable approaches to easing the school-to-work passage.[26] ***We recommend that the public and private sector give continuing attention to cooperative education, internship, apprenticeship, and other forms of hands-on, experiential learning.*** Cooperative education, with its emphasis on monitored work experience, usually for pay, while the student is still enrolled in secondary school, has a solid achievement record and merits far more attention than it has received. A somewhat similar, even less-used approach is the internship, in which young people still in school are exposed to careers and work on an unpaid, part-time, or short-term basis. Apprenticeship is a far more comprehensive but also substantially underused strategy in America, where until recently it tended to be union-directed and centered almost exclusively on white male relatives of union members in their early-to mid-twenties. It offers teenagers the chance to learn under master workers, combining formal academic studies with practical work experience.

Other school-to-work programs for dropout-prone youth around the country are epitomized by the Boston Compact. Three thousand full-time summer jobs and 1,200 after-school part-time jobs were created in 1987 through binding commitments between the schools, which agreed to (but had trouble meeting) tougher educational standards, and about 700 participating businesses that informally agreed to hire and provide training to young graduates of the city's high schools. The Boston Compact is enriched by the participation of 26 trade unions and 25 colleges and universities.[27] (For further data, see **Appendix D**.) In 12 states, Jobs for America's Graduates (JAG) serves roughly 11,000 high school seniors, 70 percent of them minority, through instruction in employment competencies and professionally-directed development and job placement activities. Other national and community-based organizations also offer similar training both to enrolled students and out-of-school youth.[28]

These arrangements, along with a smaller number of programs—that attempt to *guarantee*, not just hold out a vague hope

of, training, jobs, and postsecondary education—are a favorable sign of progress and general enlightenment. At the same time, they can never be a cure-all for several reasons: (1) With rare exceptions, they emanate from legislative bodies, public administrators, school leaders, and community groups, and infrequently from employers or unions; (2) once enrolled, too many unions and businesses make only marginal commitments, with the participating firms' power actors and personnel systems only tangentially involved; (3) unless something dramatic occurs, they are unlikely to attract the media attention that is needed to build public and financial support.

When legislatures and executive agencies try to create training and employment programs, their efforts are generally met with indifference, occasionally by hostility, from the business community. Much of the private sector views such programs as the heavy hand of governmental bureaucracy at work. This negative assessment has some historical justification. The employment and training field has lacked, and continues to lack, a cadre of professional workers and accepted standards for assessing their abilities and performance. Partly because of this shortfall and the on-again, off-again nature of government's interest in the employment and training field, many government-sponsored efforts are quirky: hastily conceived, unevenly supported, susceptible to arbitrary cutoff, and improperly monitored.

Business criticisms of government programs are frequently justified and deserve our attention. Framers of future federal and state efforts will be obliged to demonstrate that government programs can and do benefit business, as well as youth and the community, and that profits increase because of, and not despite, the trainees. This demonstration of value is especially important to small enterprises in which an inexperienced or inept trainee can cause severe operational dislocations and financial losses. The giant employers are usually experienced hands with such programs and can adapt them to their operational modes. But they, too, must place corporate, and not community, interests atop their priority list.

Items for an Agenda; Some Promising Approaches

A gamut of programs and propositions is available to those employers who would act now to aid both the Forgotten Half and their own firms. Several hold particular promise, for business as well as for shapers of social and economic policy, as ways to narrow the gap between members of the Forgotten Half and the jobs and earnings opportunities that have been eluding them in the 1980s. These approaches are not new or revolutionary; all appear to fall safely within the mainstream of politically acceptable training and employment doctrine. After 20 years of experimentation, pilot projects, and large-scale federal intervention, we have a fairly good idea of which approaches merit local consideration and adaptation. But we are less certain of their applicability to specific populations and current and projected demographic trends. The discussion that follows offers a variety of combinations, improvements, and adaptations that may have relevance in the 1990s. We stress that few have been subjected to the rigorous evaluation that we would welcome. Yet, all have been found efficacious in limited settings, and all have their champions among pragmatic and realistic local community leaders and state policymakers.

- **The Targeted Jobs Tax Credit (TJTC).** Now in its tenth year, TJTC is a federal program to subsidize a portion of the salaries of needy members of certain groups (16-24-year-olds, Vietnam veterans, and AFDC and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) recipients, among others). While the program has never been properly monitored or evaluated,[29] the idea is nevertheless an attractive one. In 1985, 367,000 youth participated, 59 percent of all workers in the TJTC program. In order to compensate employers for the performance of what are perceived to be relatively low-productivity workers, the federal government extends a tax credit of (since 1986) 40 percent of the first year's salary up to $6,000 or a $2,400 credit. Employers of low-income 16-17-year-olds earn a more generous credit: 85 percent of wages up to $3,000 for summer employment only, or a credit up to $2,550. In 1985, the summer salaries of 27,000 youth were subsidized under this program.

  According to a US Department of Health and Human Services study, three out of four responding employers were not interested in hiring TJTC eligibles because they believed that the targeted job-seekers would be unproductive and that public employment offices would not refer acceptable applicants. But those who did hire these employees found them to be as productive as other workers in the same occupation. An Ohio State University theoretical study determined that lower skilled applicants would benefit more from TJTC than applicants with more education or job experience.[30]

These signs of potential success and employer acceptance are small, but encouraging. ***We recommend that policymakers re-examine the TJTC with a view to obtaining a more beneficial balance for both employers and workers.*** Levitan and Gallo suggest, among other measures, a minimum obligation on employers of $1,000 in wages, or approximately seven and one-half weeks of full-time work at minimum wage, for each TJTC employee in order to qualify for tax credits, an increase in the wage base, and more careful monitoring of eligibility. "The verdict is still out on the usefulness of wage subsidies," they conclude. "The TJTC experience clearly indicates that wage subsidies require a vigorous government role in promoting employment opportunities for the poor."

- **The Development-Employment Nexus.** A growing number of businesses receive government subsidies of various types—tax abatements and credits, low-interest loans, favorable zoning decisions, attractive bond issues, and other advantageous incentives—to build, reconstruct, or operate enterprises that are supposed to benefit local communities. St. Paul, Minnesota, pioneered a link between youth employment policy and economic development in its St. Paul Energy Park, a 300-acre development designed to accommodate high technology and energy conservation-oriented enterprises, as well as residential housing. Under the terms of the construction contracts, the builders agreed to set aside 20 percent of the project's jobs for the city's low-income youth. These young people worked first in landscaping and construction-related jobs. Once the park opened, the young workers were moved into retail, service, and maintenance positions. The city's scenario for them included a remedial education course, an orientation to work attitudes, and skills training. Once on the job, the trainees received intensive counseling and peer support. According to the former chief of the city's employment and training system, Richard Thorpe, youth should be able to change interests and vocational directions as they grow up. Moreover, "there's a strong feeling in St. Paul that anything that occurs here that's fostered by public monies should be part of our effort to provide jobs for people who are shut out."[31] That proposition should provoke little argument from business interests, which stand to gain impressive long-term benefits from such subsidized projects. As the nation turns to rebuilding or replacing its infrastructure, subsidizing public sports facilities for private use, and gentrifying once-decrepit urban areas, ***we recommend that policymakers vigorously explore the prospects for demanding private employment and training opportunities for youth in exchange for public subsidy and other public benefits.***

- **Involving the Human Services Strategy.** The business of America is not only business; governmental and non-profit human service organizations are significant and expanding sectors of the economy. Health and education, for example, are now the nation's largest employers and the dominant employers in many cities once known primarily for industrial prominence. Yet, during the 1980s, characterized by governmental promotion of international competitiveness through a robust free enterprise system, the human services sector role in employment policy has been neglected. Particularly in large urban areas, the human services are natural partners for promoting significant employment and training endeavors. *The Commission believes that governmental and non-profit human service organizations should figure more prominently than they now do in framing future youth training programs.*

  The ethos of both health and education professionals tends toward a positive view of equal access, and both medicine and teaching have institutionalized the notions of induction, mentorship, and continuing education. Most human service personnel systems offer good skills acquisition and career ladder opportunities. Although salaries may be lower than for comparable work in private industry, job security is better than average, and benefits are at least satisfactory and sometimes generous.

  In the 1960s and '70s, limited federal support for educational programs for employed paraprofessionals (mostly part-time teacher aides from the school neighborhood) turned hundreds of previously indigent young high school graduates into fully credentialed school teachers.[32] Many completed remedial training to test successfully for the high school General Educational Development diploma.

  Some former kitchen workers, part-time clerks, and laid-off factory workers completed college, becoming today's school principals and front-office executives. The story can be repeated in corrections, social work, mental health, nursing, and other career fields. Although sadly underfunded and, therefore, not fully tested in its previous incarnation, the New Careers Movement, as it was then called, appears to combine several key ingredients of a successful training and employment policy.

The Commission encourages other programs to meet these criteria: low entry requirements, expert and sympathetic trainers and bosses, good job security, and, all too rare, the chance to move up the career ladder with increasing competence and performance on the job.

- **Better Use of Local Resources**. History begins when a new boss takes over. Or so it seems as field after field, including youth employment and school reform, constantly reinvents itself, as though institutional memory, available literature, and existing institutions and linkages scarcely existed. Although national policies and belief systems on schooling and jobs for the Forgotten Half are essential, they are only background for what happens in the cities and towns where training/employment ties are built. The school or business seeking a mutually beneficial relationship need not look far. Throughout the country, established partnerships, coalitions, and catalytic agencies are firmly in place. The nationwide Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) system, for example, numbers some 630 private industry councils (PICs). Each has a staff averaging eight to ten people and approximately 25 council members, of whom 14 are from business and the remainder from "all the right places": schools, unions, community-based organizations, employment services, and others of similar relevance. Understandably, all PICs are strongly oriented toward immediate business needs, with a preference for short-term, low-cost training and, at least until now, little ability to provide the more costly services needed by the most at-risk young people, such as stipends in lieu of wages or childcare support.[33] But the PICs can provide expert local information and assistance—what jobs are available, what skills are needed, what kinds of training work best—normally at little or no cost to the school or business. ***We recommend that schools and businesses wishing to forge partnerships take better advantage of the rich resource that PICs can provide.***

- **Local Education Funds**. Relatively new resources in many communities are local education funds or foundations that bring together a broad cross-section of private sector, civic, community, labor, parent, K-12, higher education leadership for the purpose of improving the quality of public education and broadening the constituency of support for the public schools. Generally, these funds provide small grants that encourage innovations by teachers and principals, help to develop public information materials that support public schools, and encourage creative staff development and school/business partnership projects.

  Although these entities are not focused specifically on job training, their agenda includes substantive programmatic and confidence-building initiatives and, in fact, several have developed or brokered activities that include job training, school-to-work transition, and mentoring components. Local education funds are uniquely situated as third-party intermediaries, linkers, brokers, and conveners able to bring together interested parties to address this set of critical issues.

  Many local education funds have been supported by the Public Education Fund (PEF) and its successor, the Public Education Fund Network (PEF/NET). Housed at the Allegheny Conference on Community Development in Pittsburgh, PEF/NET is a national resource on these local initiatives that provides support to former PEF grantees and technical assistance and materials to others interested in the local education fund approach.[34] During its five-year life, PEF granted $4 million to 47 local education funds around the country, and these grants in turn generated $15 million in matching funds from business, industry, and foundations. As a result, PEF became, along with the National Alliance of Business, a *de facto* national clearinghouse for public-private collaborations to improve public schools.[35] ***We recommend that more communities consider developing similar public-private local education funds.***

- **On-the-Job Training (OJT) and Apprenticeship**. There is no truly acceptable substitute for learning by doing. *On-the-job training, broadly defined, provides the most direct route to useful employment that our economic system can offer to those who are not headed for full-time postsecondary education.* The conscientious trainee acquires genuine respect for work, earns pocket money, and learns self-discipline.

  Lamentably, OJT has been available to fewer than one in ten youngsters at times when the federal government was investing heavily in training disadvantaged youth.[36] In the 1980s, the figure dropped to as low as one in 50, even in the face of evidence that OJT and apprenticeship programs in Germany and Japan, among our principal competitors, have been powerful forces in their economic prosperity. Strong federal backing for OJT is difficult to legislate and governmental support has been unpredictable—rising, falling, and all but disappearing with disturbing irregularity. Commercial enterprises are loath to earmark

funds and staff time for what they may consider to be an uncertain venture. Moreover, there is now considerable agreement that work-only OJT programs that omit other areas of the personal development of disadvantaged young people—especially development of basic academic skills—do not produce positive employment effects over the long term.[37] *Truly effective OJT programs must be comprehensive and sustained, not fragmentary and ephemeral.*

But the absence of consensus on a lasting national OJT effort should not deter advocates of OJT from keeping the subject before policy-shapers in both government and business. OJT has a deservedly rich history in nations that share many of our values. Moreover, OJT is a key pathway to skills acquisition for most young workers in manufacturing, construction, mining, transportation, utilities, and similar fields. Adapting it to today's realities as a major response to American needs, probably in combination with other developmental efforts, deserves the attention of serious policymakers.

The major precepts of an on-the-job training policy, says David Bresnick of the Center for Management Development of Baruch College, begins with an incisive statement of purpose and broad policy objectives acceptable to government and private business that both would support in appropriate legislation. Such a policy creates genuinely attractive incentives to guarantee strong business participation while directing serious attention to the quality of OJT programs, perhaps through creation of a public/private corporation to ensure high standards. And it should be attentive to the lessons of precedent, whether good or bad. Supplementing these broad provisions, Bresnick's national YOUTHJOBS strategy[38] calls for initially reduced wages for trainees, classroom training, a similar effort in the public service sector, and stronger systems of vocational education and guidance.

The gulf between vocational education in American secondary schools (particularly urban high schools) and the realities of employment in high-paying craft occupations is wide and possibly widening. Yet, this gap is significantly narrower in West Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. There, apprenticeships cover almost all occupations requiring high-level skills and employers participate willingly in training costs as a regular part of their employee recruitment efforts. Apprenticeship programs assist young people in the 15-19-year age group with an almost seamless passage from secondary school classrooms through a combination of academic work and on-the-job training and on into full membership in trades demanding highly specialized skills. West Germany's apprenticeship system enrolls over half of all 15-18-year-olds, and those of Austria and Switzerland number one-third of their non-college youth. Students are well trained and highly motivated, and almost all get good jobs or continue their education upon completion of the apprenticeships.[39]

In the United States, apprenticeship (which customarily starts in a worker's early- to mid-twenties) seldom figures in national or state training and employment policy. While 300 American high schools have school-to-work apprenticeship programs, their combined student enrollment is only 1,500. Only five percent of America's high school graduates were in apprenticeships in the year following graduation, only one percent at the three-year mark. In 1977, 0.3 percent of the entire US civilian workforce were apprentices; the totals for Austria, Germany, and Switzerland ranged from 5.4 to 6.2 percent.[40]

In the US as a whole, about 300,000 apprentices are enrolled in 44,000 sponsored programs. Although the building trades unions, in particular, continue their strong support of the apprenticeship system, 75 percent of the programs and 47 percent of the apprentices, contrary to common belief, are non-union. Minorities and women are also beginning to make small headway in what was once an exclusively white male preserve; twenty percent of today's apprentices are minorities, six percent are female.[41]

Admittedly, there are fairly substantial differences in economic governance and employment policy between the United States and those European nations, but at least two central similarities exist: (1) both wish improved access of young high school graduates to full-time positions that provide career opportunities based on solid work skills and commensurate compensation, and (2) no economy can function at maximum effectiveness without well-trained employees in skill-based occupations. In this context, the essential features of apprenticeship training are appealing:

- Apprenticeship is a transitional social status between adolescence and adulthood and confers a measure of prestige on the apprentice and often on the employer as well.
- On-the-job training is closely integrated with essential academic schooling.
- Certification as a skilled worker upon completion of apprenticeship leads to significant labor market benefits.

- Training is at the same time specific enough to qualify apprentices to enter highly skilled occupations, yet broad enough to serve as a foundation either for advancement to higher skill levels in the same occupation or for further training in a related occupation.

The merits of a significant expansion of the apprenticeship system in this country have long been overlooked, and efforts to build better bridges from high schools to apprenticeships are long overdue. It is timely in the late 1980s for the federal government, major business interests, and organized labor to explore together how to develop a modern and more responsive American approach to training through apprenticeship.[42] As they explore this possibility, they should bear in mind that *apprenticeships need not be regarded as "terminal training" or lower status than academic education. Rather, quality apprenticeships offer an alternative route, a hands-on education, that students can use to gain good employment as well as continue their postsecondary education.* Indeed, the great variety of postsecondary education and training opportunities available in the US offers many chances for successful apprentices to grow in job status and professional competence while earning good wages after completing an apprenticeship.

We recommend that each state government, together with its principal employers and business associations, explore the possibilities of expanded apprenticeship programs based on experience from the US and from abroad. We urge the US Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training and the US Department of Education's Office of Vocational and Adult Education to launch a joint federal effort to assist the states with this renewed commitment to apprenticeship education and training.[43]

School-Employer-Government Partnerships: The Second Generation

We have often stressed that few approaches in the school-to-work transition have been subjected to the rigorous evaluation that would satisfy the critics. Yet, Americans see themselves as problem-solvers and practical, trial-and-error realists who would rather learn from an unsuccessful effort than accept certain defeat without making an effort to avert it.

In that spirit, California's employers, represented by the Business Roundtable and the Chamber of Commerce, the state's Departments of Education and Employment Development, and the US Department of Labor's Employment and Training Administration, in May 1988 launched what is probably the nation's most comprehensive and ambitious partnership to date. Described as a "second-generation" school-business alliance, the "California Compact" seeks to link the private industry councils that receive federal funds under the Job Training Partnership Act with the state's Employment Development local offices, the schools, and business leaders in a long-term, goal-oriented framework that takes the "hit or miss" out of public-private partnerships.

Local compacts are at the heart of the California Compact. Business people are asked to join educators and other leaders to form community teams in setting *concrete and measurable standards* for student achievement as well as specific programs designed to achieve them. Recognizing the need both for more accountability and for maximum local determination of what is needed and what will work, the Compact asks each community to determine which problems it wishes to address. If, for example, City X identifies poor school attendance as a problem, it sets a concrete goal of improving attendance by, say, five percent per year. Business can then help—by assisting the schools to institute the most modern and effective attendance tracking systems; by supporting recognition ceremonies; and by awarding incentives to students who improve and/or meet specified attendance rates, for example, by distributing "preferred student" cards that entitle students to preferred hiring, discounts on purchase of products or services, or any other measures that the local compact believes would improve school attendance. Existing partnerships, such as adopt-a-school and career mentor programs, are encouraged to participate if they agree to pursue the local compact's specific and measurable purposes, in this example, improving school attendance.

The Compact urges all local compacts to adopt these basic program components:

- Providing "custom handling" or individual attention to students, particularly those at risk of failing to achieve their potential, so that they receive the motivation, support, and information necessary to stay in school and earn graduation credits;
- Assuring that all high school graduates acquire the basic skills and competencies necessary for attending colleges or technical training institutions;

- Assuring employers that school graduates have the basic skills, attitudes, and competencies required for success in employment;
- Providing adequate financial aid, information, and scholarships to ensure that all students who meet specified grade, attendance, and instructional standards are able to attend postsecondary institutions;
- Building on the strengths of existing business-school-community partnerships and innovative programs so that all districts can benefit from lessons learned, rather than having to "reinvent the wheel"; and
- Providing school staff with the training, resources, and support necessary for meeting their program goals.

Regardless of the specific problem areas identified by California's various communities, the goal of each local compact is the same:

> *. . .that every student graduating from California high schools who meets the grade, discipline, attendance, and instructional standards outlined by school and business officials in the local community will be guaranteed priority hiring status for jobs, or financial assistance needed to attend postsecondary education.*[44]

The Compact acknowledges its intellectual debt to the Boston Compact, Cleveland Initiative for Education, Peninsula Academies, and others that have built strong school-employee coalitions. The Compact goes beyond first-generation or nominal partnerships to construct more goal-oriented, accountable, and institutionalized educational improvement. While seed money mini-grants may be available to assist local communities to get started, the Compact stresses local resources and better use of existing funds under the JTPA and public education budgets.

The Commission recommends the California Compact as a model that can be widely discussed as a possible undertaking for other states and communities. To encourage this consideration, we include in **Appendix D** portions of the Compact's planning guide for local communities, as well as information about Boston's and Cleveland's related efforts.

The Commission does not suggest these "items for an agenda" as a blueprint for a national action program, nor do we envision a massive surge of sudden and intimate collaboration among business and industry, schools, non-profits, the present and future work force, and government agencies at all jurisdictional levels. Across the country, though, we witness a convergence of these forces at a steady pace that would have been difficult to imagine a generation ago. With such examples as the Boston and California Compacts, the Cleveland Initiative, I Have a Dream Foundations, Jobs for America's Graduates, Opportunities Industrialization Centers, SER-Jobs for Progress, 70,001, and others to instruct us, the promise of concerted efforts to prepare the Forgotten Half for better jobs is bright.

Much will depend on the actions and attitudes of the private sector and nonprofit employers. They can contribute in countless ways to improving the quality of education for all youth and to the job readiness and employability of the half of our youth who do not pursue postsecondary education. But we cannot ask or expect employers to do the *entire* job. Families, community institutions, youth organizations, government, and schools and colleges all have vital roles to play.

PATHWAYS TO SUCCESS:

Recommendations

Accommodation between schools and the workplace is on the rise and in the best interest of both. But significant differences in their fundamental purposes, outlooks, and core values persist. Patient and continuing efforts are needed to expand promising partnerships and programs and to create new opportunities for America's Forgotten Half. The Commission recommends:

- Development by employers of alternative hiring criteria—e.g., a performance test or trial employment period in lieu of a paper credential like a high school diploma—to fairly identify the full range of promising job candidates. (p. 96)
- Continuing attention by the public and private sector to workable approaches to ease the passage from school-to-work, including cooperative education, internship, apprenticeship, and other forms of hands-on, experiential learning. (p. 96)
- Re-examination of the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit by policymakers to establish a more beneficial balance between employer subsidy and worker eligibility. (p. 98)
- State and local government exploration of ways to require private employment and training opportunities for young people in exchange for public subsidies—tax abatements and credits, low interest loans, favorable zoning decisions, and other incentives—given to local building and development firms. (p. 98)
- Fuller utilization of private industry councils (PICs), the local representatives of the Job Training Partnership Act system, by schools and businesses wishing to forge partnerships. (p. 99)
- Community consideration of the development of education funds or foundations to provide incentive grants to improve the quality of the public schools, broaden its constituency, and create school-business partnerships. (p. 99)
- A joint federal effort between the US Departments of Labor and Education to assist states, in partnership with employers and business associations, to explore the possibilities of expanding the apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs already proven in the United States and abroad. (p. 101)
- Consideration of the California Compact as a model of a local compact—an alliance of business, education, and community leaders to set concrete and measurable standards for student achievement and develop programs to achieve them—that can be widely discussed as a possible undertaking for other states and communities. (p. 102)

Chapter 6

Pathways to Success: Targeted Needs

Certain groups of American youth experience special difficulties in sharing the benefits this society has to offer and must struggle against great odds to become educated, employed, and self-sufficient. There are many ways to categorize these groups with special needs. We have chosen to comment upon adolescents with disabilities, those living out of their homes in foster care or on the streets, young people growing up in rural areas, and those in the concentrated poverty neighborhoods of many inner cities. These categories represent youth from a cross-section of cultural backgrounds and highlight a diversity of special educational and employment needs. Many other groups of young people in our polyglot society merit attention as well. We hope this discussion encourages greater recognition of all their unique situations, needs, and substantial capacities to contribute both to their communities and to our country.

Young Adults with Disabilities

Enormous strides have been made in understanding the special needs and capacities of people with disabilities, as well as their rights to equal educational and employment opportunities, since the passage of Section 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act and Public Law 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, in 1975. *Today's challenge is to make these laws work even better. If people with disabilities are to enjoy fully the rights and privileges of citizenship, our attitudes must catch up with our actions.*

The term "persons with disabilities" covers difficulties ranging from dyslexia to physical handicaps and severe mental retardation and requires an equally wide array of services and supports to help persons with disabilities find their own pathways to success. Of the nearly 40 million persons in the 15-24-year-old age group, 10 percent or four million have disabilities.* Of this group, 55 percent complete high school, a stunning

* A developmental disability means a severe, chronic disability of a person which (a) is attributable to mental or physical impairment or a combination of mental or physical impairments; (b) is manifested before a person attains age 22; (c) is likely to continue indefinitely; (d) results in substantial functional limitation in three or more of the following areas of major life activity: (1) self-care, (2) receptive and expressive language, (3) learning, (4) mobility, (5) self-direction, (6) capacity for independent living, and (7) economic self-sufficiency; and (e) reflects a person's need for a combination and sequence of special, inter-disciplinary, or generic care, treatment, or other services which are of life-long or extended duration and are individually planned and coordinated. *Public Law 100-146, Developmental Disabilities and Assistance and Bill of Rights Act.*

> *The roots of prejudice against and stereotypes about disabled people reach far back in history and persist today. Disabled people throughout history have been regarded as incomplete human beings - "defective." . . . The discriminatory nature of policies and practices that exclude and segregate disabled people has been obscured by the unchallenged equation of disability with incapacity and the gloss of "good intentions." . . . The social consequences that are attached to being disabled often bear no relationship to the physical and mental limitations imposed by the disability.*[1]

62 percent are unemployed, and 18.8 percent earn under $600 per month. Compared to rates for persons without disabilities—76 percent complete high school, 77 percent are employed, and 8.3 percent earn less than $600—persons with disabilities constitute one of the most economically disadvantaged subgroups in American society. Although only 7.7 percent of the 15-24-year-old age group in the general population live alone, a surprising 11.5 percent of young adults with disabilities do.[2]

Racial and ethnic minorities are proportionally over-represented in the population with disabilities. In 1980, about 15 percent of the total working-age population was work-disabled while 22 percent of all blacks and 20.6 percent of Hispanics were so classified. Poverty, unemployment, and underemployment are highly correlated with minorities and women with disabilities.[3] Poverty also contributes to the likelihood that children will be born with disabilities and often undermines the advocacy role parents are expected to fill for their children.[4] Teen mothers are more likely to have babies with disabilities due to the high incidence of inadequate prenatal nutrition, premature births, and low birth weight babies.

Social isolation and stigma, the result of societal discrimination against those who look or act differently than most, affects all people with identifiable disabilities. *Whatever the disability, all supports and services should have the same objective: to assist the individual with a disability to achieve the maximum level of independence and participation in community life.*

Young people with disabilities come from varied family situations that may or may not contribute positively to self-esteem and preparation for work. While families do a remarkable job under trying circumstances to rear children with disabilities and to act as advocates for them, the pressure of caring for a child with a disability, especially an adolescent, stretches the coping skills of the most determined family. Forty percent of families in a recent study reported that educational, medical, and other services were insufficient, causing additional stress.[5]

Some young people with disabilities require in-home care from their parents far past the usual age of maturity. City or county allowances, which pay for special services to relieve parents, are lifelines for many families of children with disabilities, but such programs are usually inadequate. Common concerns that all families have about health care benefits are magnified for those families caring for members with disabilities, who typically incur high medical costs.

The greatest barrier, however, that continues to affect persons with disabilities is isolation. 1984 data confirms that 300,000 children with disabilities remained in special schools segregated from their age peers—many are misclassified, underserved, or inappropriately served in special education programs.[6] *Social isolation perpetuates the misconception that youth with disabilities are deficient rather than*

different. The Commission believes, to the contrary, that all youth can be resources, including youth with disabilities.

"[Disabled] youth can fulfill the same social expectations and roles as others if provided the right opportunities."[7] Whether mentally or physically disabled, youth often confront a society that lowers its expectations, and thus its supports and rewards. Adults with disabilities are not often encouraged and supported as role models and mentors for youth with disabilities. Abundant research that demonstrates the value of adult role models for minority youth and young women also commends this practice for youth with disabilities.[8] ***We strongly recommend the increased use of adults with disabilities as mentors and role models and the greater inclusion of youth with disabilities in community service and youth organizations.*** (See **Appendix A** for a discussion of one model, The Networking Project for Disabled Women and Girls.)

To fortify self-help and encourage self-sufficiency, persons with physical disabilities started several independent living centers in California in the 1970s, the beginning of an independent living movement that supports full participation in community life for persons with disabilities. Now numbering 300, each managed by adults with physical disabilities, the centers offer advocacy and services by and for people with disabilities. A parallel movement for persons with mental, as well as physical, disabilities is managed by non-disabled persons. The goal for both is the same—to assist adults with disabilities to achieve maximum independence. *The Commission supports the expansion of many more independent living enterprises.* Their underpinning philosophy promotes self-confidence so that even persons with severe disabilities can achieve a significant level of independent living if they have reasonable support and encouragement.

Even the most determined efforts to reduce social isolation are stymied, however, unless they are bolstered by education and employment opportunities and additional legal strategies. Two landmark federal laws recognize the root causes of discrimination against persons with disabilities. Public Law 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (1975), requires free and appropriate public education in the least restrictive setting possible for elementary and secondary students with disabilities. The companion federal law, Section 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act, bars discrimination against persons with disabilities who are involved in federally-funded activities. It also requires that organizations, institutions, or businesses receiving federal funding remove architectural barriers whenever possible. ***The Commission recommends full compliance and aggressive enforcement of existing state and federal legislation guaranteeing the basic civil rights of people with disabilities.*** Lack of vigorous enforcement of these laws, especially in elementary and high schools, results in persistent physical barriers and continued exclusion of young persons with disabilities from a wide variety of educational and employment training programs as well as jobs.

The Commission believes that federally-funded programs providing elementary and secondary education services to persons with disabilities must be more diligent in the preparation and use of required individualized education plans, including employment plans for older students. These plans are contracts between the student's parents and school district officials and include objectives and responsibilities for parents, students, and the school. Although counselors who use placement plans for school-to-work vocational programs for students with disabilities place a higher percentage of students in jobs after high school than those who do not use plans, schools use transition plans with differing frequency and quality.[9]

The Commission also recommends that community colleges, four-year colleges, and universities should extend expanded postsecondary opportunities to many more young adults with a variety of disabilities. Middlesex Community College in Maine has a two-year program to prepare students with developmental disabilities for office work. The Community College of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, serves a similar group by offering food service and custodial training programs. Lehigh University offers a work training program for adults with severe disabilities.[10]

Other community-based programs provide architectural, technological, and tutorial supports and readers for the visually impaired so that young adults with disabilities, particularly those with learning or physical disabilities, can participate in regular academic classes. Long Island University's Learning How to Learn Project counters the notion that learning disabilities should limit learning opportunities with teaching strategies, curricula, and technology specifically designed to assist learning-disabled students.[11] Increased use of technology,

including interactive video and computers with special keyboards and programs, provides opportunities for some learners with disabilities to acquire otherwise inaccessible knowledge and skills and to increase their employability, independence, and quality of life.[12] The Technology Integration Project in Baltimore is one of several programs researching which technologies best serve students with various disabilities.[13]

Rehabilitation engineering expands the opportunities available to persons with disabilities. Custom-made wheelchair seats that increase the stamina of users is one advance of the Stanford University Hospital Rehabilitation Engineering Department. Other innovations include speech synthesizers, a reading machine to translate print into voice for blind students and workers, and adaptations for wheelchairs, buses, and vans. Rehabilitation engineering increases recreational opportunities, an important part of community life. Examples include a device to sit while skiing and a game called beepball, a form of baseball for the vision-impaired.

Federal anti-discrimination law encourages employers to provide increased employment opportunities for people with disabilities by changing work methods or by improving physical environments. Job restructuring, for example, breaks occupations into clearly defined activities to enable a worker with disabilities to complete specific tasks while assigning other tasks to a worker without disabilities. Large corporations like General Mills, which created a barrier-free workplace for employees who use wheelchairs, may have enough resources and commitment to comply with the law, but all businesses could benefit from using Targeted Jobs Tax Credits[14] and state funds that encourage employers to make accommodations in the work environment to hire persons with disabilities and receive partial reimbursement.[15]

The Commission believes that many young people with disabilities could be well-served by special on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs beginning in high school. Over 200 Projects with Industry programs for young workers with disabilities have taken different forms in many communities, creating partnerships among schools, employment and training programs, and the business community. All share the philosophy that workers with disabilities, as well as employers, have needs. In large measure, Projects with Industry has been successful by emphasizing training employ*ers* as well as employ*ees*.[16]

The "supported work model" is a promising approach that offers on-site training for prospective workers with developmental disabilities. A "job coach," who maintains long-term counseling and contact, helps workers adjust to their new jobs and get to know their co-workers. Other variations help workers with disabilities participate in community activities. Adequate and uninterrupted funding, not assured in most states, is key to the vitality of these supported work programs.[17]

The Association for Retarded Citizens estimates that, with individualized training, 75 percent of mentally-retarded persons could become self-supporting adults. One successful employment-training model, developed at the University of Oregon in 1975, uses individualized instruction and small group behavior modification techniques. Participants assemble and bag electronic circuit boards, for example, or work in various occupations that require repetitive work.

A few public high schools provide intensive school-to-work transition programs for mentally-retarded youth. In Madison, Wisconsin, a transition teacher and several vocational education teachers work closely with employers to provide training, placement, and follow-up. Before the Wisconsin program began, only one of 53 mentally-retarded graduates was employed; by 1979, 47 of 61 graduates had nonsheltered employment, thus saving taxpayers more than $3,000 per year per person.[18]

A critical barrier to employment is the structure of benefits, particularly medical benefits. Frequently, persons with disabilities are simply denied medical benefits because of the pre-existing condition clause of most medical insurance policies. While "competitive employment of persons with disabilities enhances. . .self-perception and the perception of society, current state and federal programs do not provide incentives for handicapped adults to enter the work force."[19] Medicaid, for example, and other benefits based on financial eligibility, including Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and food stamps, may be eliminated by a full-time salary. In a study model, a full-time worker with a disability typically receives no employee medical insurance, experiences reduction or loss of benefits from SSI and Medicaid, has deductions for income tax and social security, pays sizeable health costs, and

ends up with the same amount of disposable income as a part-time worker with disabilities who receives benefits and contributes less to taxes and social security. ***The Commission recommends that employers investigate and adopt restructured benefit plans, including assistance with health insurance, to workers with disabilities. Hiring incentives for employers, including the use of Targeted Jobs Tax Credits and state funds, can also be expanded to enable employers to hire workers with disabilities and to make the necessary accommodations to integrate them fully into the workplace.***

Some adults with disabilities are too severely impaired to work and need ongoing, comprehensive services for themselves and their families. The Young Adult Institute, a day treatment program with more than 50 sites in the New York City metropolitan area, groups adults according to ability. Teachers, assisted at some sites by volunteers from the City Volunteer Corps, help young adults, who live in group homes or with their families, to develop skills that foster self-confidence and self-reliance. This model provides dignity, respect, and maximum independence to people with disabilities who require lifetime attention.[20]

Family supports, independent living plans for education and employment, and additional training and employment opportunities are necessary to tackle the largest problem that persons with disabilities face: society's false assumption that they have few talents. Federal and state legislation as well as education is critical in changing this misperception. As education, employment, and architectural barriers are removed, people with disabilities are able to participate more fully with non-disabled people in work and community activities, and attitudinal barriers begin to dissolve as well. The words of a 17-year-old high school speech contest winner are well-worth heeding: "Ignorance is the problem. We not only deprive them [persons with disabilities] of their need to participate equally in society, but we lose a very valuable part of our culture when we limit their participation."[21] Complying with and enforcing federal and state regulations provides the opportunity for contact with and full participation by young people with disabilities.

The media powerfully shape the public view of people with disabilities. *The Commission believes that many more positive images should be incorporated in programming and commercial advertisement.* The *Facts of Life*, a weekly situation comedy about a group of adolescent girls, periodically includes a young woman with cerebral palsy, focusing on her sense of humor, confidence, and resiliency rather than on the limitations of her disability. During the course of several *Highway to Heaven* segments, a paralyzed young man enters and completes law school. In both cases, the characters are portrayed by actors whose disabilities are real. General Mills features a wheelchair athlete on Wheaties cereal boxes. A television advertisement sponsored by United Cerebral Palsy asks the question: "How do you treat a person with a disability?" After a variety of answers in which each respondent implies that a person with disabilities should be treated differently, a popular television actor replies, "There's only one answer to that question. A person with a disability should be treated like a person." *These hopeful signs support the Commission's belief that persons with disabilities belong in schools, worksites, and the community, and that given support, not sympathy, they can effectively contribute to community strength.*

Out-of-Home Youth: Foster Care and Runaway Youth

Each state has a foster care system to support children without families and those who must be removed from their homes. Decisions about removing children from their family of origin and/or placing them in foster care are made by state, county, or city legal systems with advice from local child welfare agencies and attorneys. The 1980 federal Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act, enacted in response to the increasing number of foster care placements, requires that judges determine whether reasonable efforts have been made to enable children to remain safely at home before they are placed in foster care and that similar efforts be made to reunite foster children with their biological families.

First, a general overview of foster care in the US. The recent emphasis on family preservation and reunification resulted in a decrease in the number of out-of-home placements for youth from 502,000 in 1977 to 272,000 in 1983.[22] By 1985, only 270,000 children were in foster care at the beginning of the year. Nearly equal numbers, about 180,000, entered and left care during the preceding year, averaging 17 months in foster care. About 45 percent of youth in foster care were 13 to 18 years old. Three percent were age 19 or older[23] and were covered under state foster care programs

because they were still enrolled in school or in training programs.[24] Status offenders—young people arrested for running away, buying alcohol, or other activities only illegal for minors—constitute a significant proportion of young people in foster care. A high proportion of all foster care children come from poor families, and a disproportionate number are black. Forty-six percent of the 275,000 children in foster care are minority, compared with 17 percent of minority youth in the general population. Black children remain in care two and a half years longer than white children.[25]

It is often assumed that young children come into foster care because their parents have problems while older children enter because their own behavior is intolerable. A recent Vera Institute of Justice study, however, reports that older delinquents and status offenders come from families not unlike those of younger children—families in which they have suffered abuse and neglect.[26] Two-thirds of all foster care children are placed in families; the remainder are sent to institutions, including detention centers, mental hospitals, and special schools, often because no suitable homes can be found. Older youth average four different placements and at least one runaway episode while in foster care. They frequently do not have appropriate living situations and face problems they cannot deal with constructively.

Despite the success of family preservation efforts, child abuse, homelessness, increased drug use, and unemployment are increasingly putting more children at risk of out-of-home placement. As a result, between 1984 and 1985, 31 states showed an increase in foster care.[27] In 1984, 16,000 youth who had never lived at home or were not then living there were released from the foster care system and expected to find work and living quarters, and to start new lives—activities that most 18-year-olds who emerge from intact families find difficult.[28] Policymakers and caregivers alike should be cognizant that—while the goal is the same: children able to cope, grow, and become fully participating adults despite the difficulties they have had—home preservation and foster placement require different supports and services. The key is making the best decision for the children and adults concerned and providing adequate supports to implement those decisions.[29]

To implement the requirement that publicly-funded child welfare agencies "make reasonable efforts" to keep families together, a consortium of legal and advocacy organizations for foster care youth have developed guidelines for attorneys, judges, and child welfare agencies to follow in complying with the 1980 law's mandate.[30] *Reasonable efforts to keep parents and children together, however, require reasonable supports to ensure that children are protected and parents are given the help they need.* The recent tragedy of a five-year-old beaten to death by the abusive mother to whom she was returned, even though two successful foster care families wished to adopt her, highlights the need for more comprehensive assistance to troubled families.[31] Without substantial supports to assist parents in chaotic situations, caseworkers trying to preserve families are asked to do the impossible.

Some innovative program models help families meet their children's needs and prevent assignment to foster care. Homebuilders, started in 1974 in Tacoma, Washington, is an in-the-home family preservation effort. Each of its well-trained social workers intensively serves only one or two families at a time and is on call 24 hours a day to respond, usually in person, to family crises. Ninety percent of the families served from 1974 to 1985 have remained intact.[32] In 1985, Homebuilders' cost per family was $2,600; the cost of out-of-home placement for each child could be as high as $26,000, depending on the state and type of care.

Evaluations have shown that numerous state family preservation programs have successfully prevented child abuse, reduced recidivism, improved family functioning, avoided costly treatment, and prevented placement of children in foster care. Florida's Intensive Crisis Counseling Programs (ICCP) served 107 families with 302 children. As a result of its services, only five of the 196 children targeted for possible placement had to be removed from their homes when services ended—a 97.4 percent success rate and an estimated savings of $600,000 in placement costs. Follow-up checks at six months showed an 80 percent success rate. Nebraska's Intensive Services Project served 34 high-risk families during its first year and helped children and parents stay together in 86 percent of the cases. An outgrowth of this project, Home-Based Family-Centered Services, decreased the number of children put in foster care by ten percent in its first two years.[33]

Of the 715 children at risk of placement who were treated by Virginia's Preplacement Prevention Services Program with family therapy and home-based services, only seven percent were taken from their families, and they remained away for a shorter time than other foster children. Sixty-nine percent of

the 391 families that received services improved in overall functioning. On average, the cost to prevent placement through the program's family-structured therapy and home-based services is $1,214; the cost for placement in a Virginia foster family is $11,173, and $22,025 for placement in a residential facility.[34]

In Georgia, a successful statewide program diverts funds from foster care to family counseling and family preservation and reunification efforts. A similar, but more targeted, program exists in Illinois for families in which alcohol abuse may have disrupted the family and forced foster care placement. Unfortunately, many programs are small, scattered, underfunded, or have little contact with one another. The American Public Welfare Association, through its award program for model programs, is gaining recognition for some effective ones, but information on successful approaches needs to be more widely shared.[35] ***The Commission recommends the wider replication of family preservation models, like Homebuilders, that offer comprehensive and intensive services and individualized, long-term casework to protect children, keep families from breaking up, and prevent foster care.***

The demand for quality out-of-home placements remains high although many generous families overlook inadequate reimbursement rates and open their homes and hearts to foster children. They are to be applauded along with the dedicated caseworkers who, despite bureaucratic frustrations, work to provide effective services to foster care youth. In recent testimony to the US House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, an 18-year-old from Texas told of his entry into foster care at age 12 after a neighbor reported his mother's neglect. He spoke of the rejection he feels from his mother, the repeated adjustments he had to make to new places and people, and his positive experiences in a foster care family who provided for him as if he were their own son. But states are finding it difficult to find good foster homes for all the children and young people who need them. Illinois reported a 43 percent reduction in licensed foster homes between 1983 and 1986—a decrease from 7,007 to 3,954 foster family homes. By the end of June 1987, there were only 2,790 such homes. Meanwhile, the numbers of Illinois children entering foster care rose by 31.6 percent between early 1986 and 1987.[36]

Many foster care youth, "like a jig-saw puzzle with pieces scattered everywhere,"[37] do not receive the adult and community supports they need. As a result, their capacities to trust, form relationships, and develop skills to manage independent living or a job often lag far behind their chronological age. Confronting even the typical questions on forms about place of birth or parents' names, for example, may cause emotional turmoil.

In addition, a substantial number of young adults leave the foster care system with moderate to severe learning problems. These education deficits figure heavily in subsequent employment problems, especially among minority youth. Yet few plans are developed by caseworkers to prepare older foster care youth for living, education, or work arrangements. In recent years, the child welfare system has been besieged by increased reporting of child abuse cases, and staff and resources are simply inadequate to the task of preparing youth for independent living. ***The Commission recommends that greater attention be given to helping older adolescents in foster care make the transition to self-sufficiency through innovative independent living programs and expanded education and training projects.***

A curriculum developed by Eileen Pasztor, "Preparing Youth in Foster Care for Interdependent Living," focuses on recognizing and grieving for the deep losses young people in foster care have already experienced and on building strong self-images, as well as practical skills in household finance and employment training. Pasztor argues that independent living is a misnomer and that young people preparing to leave foster care would be better-served by the transitional presence of a caring adult and supportive services roughly similar to those a family might offer, including supervised apartments or group homes, in which youth can learn and practice money management, living habits, and social skills.

The US Department of Health and Human Services has funded eight demonstration projects, three training programs, and, in conjunction with ACTION, three programs for independent living that emphasize work and training. More comprehensive programs that focus on life skills (budgets, health, housing, as well as work or training provisions) are less frequently available but, we believe, are even more urgently needed.

A transitional foster care program in the District of Columbia includes a 14-step plan to self-sufficiency. The Independent Living Program houses 40 young people emerging

from foster care in supervised apartment living and provides regular, supervised, and carefully documented training in a variety of independent living skills. Financial rewards are carefully structured to encourage new habits and attitudes; if participants do not get up for work or school, for example, they lose compensation. A second program, College Options, provides city funds for 35 young black adults from the city's foster care system to attend black colleges and universities throughout the country. In the summers before and during college, the students live in a dormitory at Howard University "to keep them in a college environment and to develop independent living skills." James Jones, director of the programs, reports that its most significant outcome is the enhanced self-esteem and aspirations that result from even one year of college attendance. The success measure is not only grades or college graduation, but a difference in the habits and attitudes that young people develop about themselves and their opportunities.[38]

> *When I was growing up, I lived with my father in a neighboring community. But when he abused me sexually, I was put into a foster home. I stayed there for about a year until I was 13. Then I ran away to New York. I did what every girl does who runs away. As a result, I was arrested and put into juvenile detention. I was locked up for about a year.*
>
> *After that, my life consisted of juvenile detention, foster homes, and running away. It wasn't fun. I think I've been to every lock-up in the New York area. Every one of them. I've been running all my life.*
>
> — 18-year-old mother of one[39]

Another group of out-of-home youth requiring service is runaways. In 1985, approximately 161,200 young people were reported as runaways. Runaways, arrested prior to age 18 on status offense charges, comprise 40 percent of all incarcerated youth. After age 18, such youth are simply called homeless.[40] Often the runaway leaves home to avoid an abusive situation, and as many as 30 per cent have no family to return to.[41] Street kids may not have been able to demonstrate their abilities in traditional academic settings, but says youth expert June Bucy, "street kids often have a zest for life—the basic drive to make the most out of a situation. . ..[and] we must direct their creativity."[42]

Available research does not adequately describe this population. We can only speculate on how they survive, often from prostitution and crime. Services that exist for runaways, homeless youth, and missing children are documented in a new directory compiled by American Youth Work Center.[43] Shelters for runaways, like the Sasha Bruce House in Washington, DC serving 350 youth per year, try to reunite youth who have families to return to. Monies are available to provide assistance to the national switchboard for runaways and to support shelters through the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act. But shelters are expensive and not high on the agenda of most cities where taxpayers demand other services. In some school districts, youth are not admitted to classes unless their parents are taxpayers. With no place to live, let alone to get needed skills, runaway youth belong to no one. After age 18, their problems normally multiply.

Many runaway girls become unmarried mothers, typically following this pattern: they come from homes in which physical and sexual abuse was common; they become

prostitutes or drug addicts and participate in the underground economy; as mothers, they usually have just one child. In 1980, forty-three percent of homeless mothers had been runaways or lived in foster or institutional care as children or teenagers.[44]

Current state laws are punitive rather than preventive. The juvenile legal system may drive long-term runaways underground, away from help, and to illicit activity. ***The Commission strongly advocates the decriminalization of running away. We also recommend improved data collection on runaways based on clearer standards and definitions of runaway youth.***

Out-of-home youth, both foster care and runaways, weigh heavily on a society that has failed them. All out-of-home youth share one problem: they are forced to walk the path to adulthood without the benefit of our primary social institution, the family. The community's task is to provide supports to out-of-home youth so that the roadblocks they encounter will not result in a permanent detour to a life of hopelessness.

Although we need additional information about out-of-home youth and the agencies that serve them, we can conclude even now that their growing numbers require our attention. Multiple services are needed to help those who pass their 18th birthday and are expected, unlike their counterparts who emerge from family settings, to make it on their own. Enhanced transitional supports, including mentoring relationships and supportive services provided by caring adults, are much needed. Because many out-of-home youth have had little reason to trust adults, and few opportunities to form enduring and supportive relationships, they may need many such interventions to rebuild their lives and fashion a better future.[45]

These young people realize the importance of a good job. Foster care youth list job preparation and money management as key concerns. Many will need an added chance to finish high school and to obtain skills training. Second-chance employment and training programs, especially well-tested models like the Job Corps, offer substantial help, but training slots are usually full.[46] It is young people like these in the Forgotten Half who we have particularly in mind in our discussion of education and training in the next chapter.

The Commission recommends more supportive services and added-chance programs that target out-of-home youth. Closer coordination between the child welfare system and the job training system, including rapidly expanding the number of state and local youth conservation and youth service corps, (especially those with residential programs), also appears to us to be a promising pathway to success for out-of-home youth.

Rural Youth

Attitudes toward rural life range from idealizing country life as bucolic bliss to writing off country people as "hicks from the sticks." Both attitudes do a disservice to the truth and to our fellow citizens. Twenty-three percent of the population, some 56.3 million people, live in or near America's 14,000 towns and small cities or on farms. About eight million of this rural population are between 15 and 24; 786,000 are farm youth.[47]

Rural America's Forgotten Half has many faces: a young Appalachian coal miner, who dropped out of high school to work in the mines only to be laid off; a 19-year-old unmarried daughter of a black Mississippi Delta cotton picker, who left a factory job cleaning chickens to stay home with her baby; a hired man on a Kansas wheat farm, whose family lost their own farm four years ago; a 21-year-old mechanic in rural Texas, who can find only part-time work.

Each example conjures up a different image. One thread, however, holds the urban view of rural America together: poorly understood and largely forgotten. *Misperceptions about rural life are many, including the belief that rural America is only a sparsely populated version of urban America and the implication that solutions to rural problems are smaller scale versions of urban solutions.*[48]

True, non-college rural youth moving into the work world and forming families have the same needs as urban youth: they need employment, and often require two jobs just to make ends meet; and they need family and community supports. Yet the nature of the problems and solutions are different. A young Missouri farmer, for example, works nights at a power plant and days on his 140-acre farm. Like 92 percent of all farm families who need non-farm income to survive, he and his wife have had full-time jobs off the farm for ten years while continuing to hold on to their dream of becoming full-time farmers.[49] Other farm families are not so fortunate. Forced off farms by the debt crisis, parents and their children are experiencing severe depression. Young people who expect to attend the state university and return home to join the family farm are faced with what many

perceive as no future. Non-farm rural youth feel much the same way since their rural communities offer few employment opportunities. They are caught between the choice of staying home where jobs are scarce or leaving to compete for jobs in urban environments—jobs and environments for which they may be inadequately prepared.

In a study of the aspirations of rural Appalachian youth, young people scale down their desire for better education and employment because these goals are perceived as impossible. Rural youth often substitute close family ties as a prime indicator of self-esteem and life satisfaction. However, reports of high satisfaction in the face of adversity might simply reflect good coping mechanisms and lowered expectations in response to insurmountable obstacles.[50]

Rural economic life is strained, both because farming, fishing, mining, and forestry, the traditional economic bases, are subject to weather fluctuations and unstable domestic and foreign markets and because small business development, the second lifeline of a rural community, is spotty. Frequently, neither is stable enough to support young people who want to remain in their communities to work and start families. Rural employment has grown by only four percent since 1979 compared to 13 percent employment growth in urban areas. More then 1,000 rural counties have an unemployment rate of nine percent or greater.[51] Rural economic development, heralded as a savior of the economic life of the South in the 1970s, overlooked many primarily black counties with severe economic problems.

Rural America has the country's highest rates of poverty. Fourteen million rural Americans are poor; the 1985 nonmetropolitan poverty rate was 18.3 percent versus 12.7 percent for metropolitan areas. Although the rates vary by geographic area and even within a given state, poverty is amplified in Appalachia and the South, where 42 percent of rural youth and 96 percent of rural black youth live.[52] Poverty anywhere is often accompanied by illiteracy, unemployment, underemployment, inadequate health care, high rates of early and unplanned pregnancies and infant mortality, and substandard housing and education—concerns that hit hard on young people.[53]

Rural education ranges from excellent to substandard. Many rural school systems have scant resources due to low property tax bases. Transportation costs to bring widely scattered students to consolidated schools claim a high percentage of rural school resources. Illiteracy varies regionally, but 25 percent of rural Southern adults are functionally illiterate, and approximately one in three young people drop out of school.[54] *Rural Americans have lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality, and a shortage of health care professionals as compared to urban Americans.* Many strapped farm families have dropped medical insurance; many other rural families have never had it.[55] Health services are inadequate and often inaccessible.

To overcome these barriers, rural people have formed cooperative groups that foster economic and community development as well as creatively address the lack of services. In 30 counties and four cities in the South, self-help community organizations have formed assemblies. The poor have come together in a volunteer effort to marshall interest, will, and resources to achieve community goals. In Surry County, Virginia, a county assembly was organized to improve schools, attract doctors, repair housing, and create job training opportunities for young people.[56] Shelby County, Tennessee, is an example of an urban center, Memphis, surrounded by a traditionally rural population. With 150,000 people in the county in poverty —twice as many blacks as whites, the county's Culture of Poverty Think Tank incorporates rural needs in its action agenda. The county's primary objective is to close the income gap between the poor and the non-poor 10 percent annually—whether urban or rural—through combined strategies in employment, education, housing, and health care.[57]

Other programs are directed specifically at the needs of rural youth:

- In Leslie, Michigan, the Family Learning Center coordinates comprehensive services for rural teen parents. The Center assists them in completing high school and preparing for employment and provides health care, childcare, and other support services. Serving a predominately white, lower middle class rural population from seven school districts, the program involves pregnant teens, teen mothers and fathers, and extended family members. In 1985, 91 percent of the pregnant and parenting seniors graduated.
- In North Carolina, the Natural Helpers project of Orange County Planned Parenthood enlists adult rural volunteers to act as mentors for teens, especially girls. Their desired outcome is to reduce the incidence of teen pregnancy, but they

have also succeeded, through self-help, in enhancing cooperation and communication in rural North Carolina.

- In response to increased teen-age alcoholism, a sharp jump in rural youth runaways, and the highest reported rates of mental depression in America, the Northwest Iowa Mental Health Center stretches limited resources to provide youth services, including peer support and employment information, to young people in danger of dropping out of school or making other risky decisions.
- A longtime friend of rural America reaching three million rural youth annually, 4-H does more than teach youth about farming or cooking and sewing. The expressed commitment of 4-H is to direct services to at-risk youth in urban and rural areas and to build youth leadership. New curricula for health education, community leadership, and economic development as well as for problematic adolescent decisions about drugs, alcohol, and sexual behavior are included in the 4-H repertoire.[58]

The Cooperative Extension Service of the US Department of Agriculture, an integral part of rural America, generated a "Building Human Capital" strategy to increase the ability of young adults to reach their potential through cooperation among families, community organizations, and the workplace. State extension services, linked with government agencies and private businesses, target one of the following objectives and plan state or county initiatives:

- **to improve and expand career preparation**
  -a JTPA program, begun in 1985 for rural youth in Michigan, addresses the special needs of farm youth—they receive on-the-job training, stress and financial management courses, and job referrals;
  -Careers Unlimited in East Lansing, Michigan holds bi-yearly week-long training workshops in career exploration for rural students throughout the state; in 1987, 2,700 youth participated.
- **to foster responsibility**
  -Peer Plus II, a 13-year-old program designed by Michigan youth, builds youth self-esteem and interpersonal skills through peer counseling; 400 adults and older teens are trained yearly to act as mentors to youth.
  -A Darlington, Wisconsin, program to reduce teenage alcohol and drug abuse resulted in a 55 percent decrease in alcohol use and a 38 percent reduction in youth arrests for alcohol use from 1985-87.
  -Based on research that suggests people in crisis first call people close to them, 4,000 Arizonans, including older youth, participated in Skills in the Art of Caring workshops to increase their ability to help family and friends in crisis.
- **to develop leadership**
  -Family Community Leadership programs, supported by the Kellogg Foundation, identify and strengthen local leadership; young people take 30 hours of instruction in communication, conflict resolution, community affairs, and public policy to learn how to resolve issues affecting them and their families.
- **to foster volunteerism and service**
  -In 1986, North Carolina's Teens Reaching Teens involved 223 16-19-year-old youth and 86 adults in volunteer teams to develop and present programs that generate discussion on topics of youth interest; the older youth wrote and taught a six-hour curriculum to 4,000 6-12-year-olds.[59]

Other extension services are broadening their scope to economic development with the expressed objective of retaining youth in the rural population through providing employment opportunities. A University of Maryland professor of agricultural economics assists rural Maryland counties and extension agents in assessing economic needs and planning small business growth. Backed up by a regional data base at Pennsylvania State University, a team of county public and private leaders can incorporate information about business activity and available transportation systems to plan economic development. Current research indicates that focusing on business retention and expansion and local small business development is more viable than recruiting new corporations.[60]

Jonathan Sher, the director of school-based programs at the Small Business and Technology Development Center of the University of North Carolina, urges a change in attitudes toward rural youth, particularly poor rural youth. Young people, adults, school, and community must interact in different ways to create an environment that fosters growth of self-esteem, skills, and opportunities for youth. He believes that energetic and idealistic young people, when

properly directed, can solve some of their own economic problems. The keys to achieving these goals are:

- viewing the school as an agency of rural development;
- using the community as the foundation of the school's curriculum; and
- encouraging both students and teachers to be active learners and active citizens.[61]

The rural school-based enterprise program is a pilot activity jointly sponsored by the University of North Carolina's Small Business Technology Development Center and Rural Education and Action Learning Enterprises (REAL). The basic purpose is to help rural educational institutions become job incubators and to help students become job *creators*, rather than simply job applicants. Extensive classroom work in applied economics, entrepreneurship, and small business management supplements the creation of "honest-to-goodness" long-term businesses conceived, planned, and operated by high school students and supported initially by seed capital from community institutions. The businesses must fill an economic niche important to the community and not occupied by another business; they are intended to be spin-offs in which students gain experience and possibly purchase the businesses upon graduation. Successful ventures so far include a print shop, delicatessen, and boat rental company.[62]

The Commission commends these cooperative efforts to solve problems within rural America, yet also well appreciates the intractable economic issues, including declining opportunities in farming, mining, fishing, and forestry and lack of alternate development, that are overriding dilemmas for rural America and its young people.[63] Rural America will need more than local effort or ephemeral national attention to its economic dilemmas, particularly those faced by young people as they move into adult life. *Without national and state recognition that rural poverty is a prime barrier to improved life for rural youth, individual initiatives in providing social services and developing economic strategies will only result in short-term solutions.*

We recommend the following strategies that draw on individual and local effort while providing state and national leadership direction and resources:

- ***Planning for economic development and job training by federal, state, and local governments in combination with universities and extension services;***
- ***Increased job training and entrepreneurial programs expressly designed to involve young people in the creation of economic opportunities;***
- ***Expanded and improved social service delivery to rural families and youth;***
- ***Greater foundation and federal support for economic development in rural areas that does not bypass those who are the poorest;***
- ***Local comprehensive efforts, such as countywide assemblies and planning groups, that take action on problems faced by rural youth and involve youth as active participants.***

After many generations of city living, people can often forget how important rain is to basic survival and wish for no rainy days; we can likewise forget that the Forgotten Half includes millions of rural youth. Policies that protect and further that view are not the sole responsibility of rural America. We all have a stake in looking anew at this too-often misunderstood and doubly forgotten portion of American young people.

The "Truly Disadvantaged"

According to 1986 Census data, 16 percent of America's 15-24-year-olds—nearly six million young people—are poor.[65] Much of this poverty will be only temporary. A study conducted by William T. Grant Commissioner Mary Jo Bane and her Harvard colleague, David Ellwood, based on longitudinal data from the Michigan Panel Study of Income Dynamics, found that most people who become poor are likely to move in and out of poverty as their life circumstances change, often within a year or two.[66] This appears especially true for young people. Many will increase their earnings after age 25 when, after years of experience and education, they finally win entry into the higher paid primary labor market or after they marry and combine two incomes. In 1986, the percentage of poverty among adults between 25 and 44 was nearly six percentage points less than among 15-24-year-olds.[67] But poverty is not short-term for everyone. Bane and Ellwood found that a substantial subgroup remains poor for a very long time, often a decade or more.

Two groups of young adults are most likely to experience this protracted poverty and the ominous future it brings: 1) single mothers who are either heading their own households or living with their own poor families, and 2) the chronically non-employed young men who are not marrying

> *Increased joblessness, poverty and receipt of welfare do not simply result mechanically from having large numbers of poor together in the same areas. They signal. . .not merely a quantitative concentration of poverty but a transformation of the social and institutional structure of the inner city which, given profound economic changes, puts their residents in a radically more constraining situation than their counterparts of earlier times or the poor of other neighborhoods.*
>
> — Loic J.D. Wacquant and William Julius Wilson[64]

these young mothers. We are particularly concerned about the even smaller number of these young unmarried mothers and unemployed young males who are among the poor living in largely minority, highly concentrated poverty neighborhoods of America's largest cities and whose present, and future, lives are most seriously threatened.[68]

These are young people who, by virtue of where they were born and raised, are excluded from the stable employment sectors of the economy and in large measure from the prevailing standard of American life.[69] In spite of mounting empirical evidence to support this view, most Americans continue to believe otherwise. National survey data collected in 1969 and again in 1980 suggest that most Americans believe "that opportunity for economic advancement is widely available, that economic outcomes are determined by individual's efforts and talents, . . .and that, in general, economic inequality is fair." Poverty is most frequently viewed as the result of a "lack of thrift or poor money management skills" while structural causes, such as low wages or lack of jobs, are considered the least important causes of poverty.[70] These notions have been so prevalent that even US poverty researchers have, until recently, largely ignored the impact of persistently high unemployment levels on specific communities. Recent studies have found, however, that, since the 1970s, many inner-city minority neighborhoods have been particularly vulnerable to the combined effects of severe recession, industrial migration, and increasing social isolation from a cross-section of social and economic classes. The result has been sharp increases in long-term joblessness, concentration of poverty, female-headed families, and welfare dependency.[71]

The pall cast over the lives of that small fraction of young people growing up in high poverty neighborhoods looms large in American society. We agree with David Ellwood that:

> *There will be no quick fixes, no magic silver bullets. What we need is intensive, long-term experimentation and commitment to education, opportunity, and empowerment. If we cannot offer a real vision, a real hope to those in our most hostile neighborhoods, America may lose an important segment of its society.*[72]

In 1985, nearly one million single parents under 25, almost entirely women, were heading their own households. Poverty among such households is extremely high—nearly three-quarters were poor in 1985. The poverty rate among the more than 300,000 households headed by black single mothers was 86 percent. An additional 800,000 young mothers and their children were living in someone else's household, usually their parents, and these families, too, endured substantial poverty.[73] Young mothers who remain single are likely to remain poor for an extended period. It is estimated that 62 percent of the children who spend the bulk of their childhood in single-parent households will grow up poor.[74]

As many as 500,000 babies will be born in 1987 to young single women in their early teens and 20s. The single parent phenomenon differs statistically for blacks and whites, but its effect of increasing the likelihood of poverty is the same for both. Births have steadily declined among young black women since 1960. Whites in their teens and early twenties have experienced rising birthrates in recent years, but their rate is still much lower than that of blacks.

Some analysts have argued that welfare is the primary reason that parents do not marry, but instead bear children out-of-wedlock and raise them in single-parent families.[78] According to this view, "overly generous" welfare payments have encouraged mothers to have more children and to avoid marriage in order to maintain eligibility for welfare available only to single-parent families. Recent research findings, however, indicate otherwise. Welfare seems

> ***. . . to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit; to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life.***
>
> — Lincoln's 1st annual message to Congress

Both groups have developed a growing proportion of out-of-wedlock births, with the proportion higher among blacks. Today, young black women are most heavily at risk of becoming single parents. They represent only 14 percent of their age group, but they account for almost a third of all teen mothers and for half of those who are not married.[75]

Single mothers with an adequate education and a strong system of social supports, including childcare and employment training, can often find work and, ultimately, achieve self-sufficiency for themselves and their families, particularly if they limit their childbearing to one child.[76] Many others will marry out of poverty. *But neither full-time work nor marriage are escape routes widely available to the female heads of households who were poor before they had families of their own.* Although we do not know the numbers of today's poor young single mothers who grew up in poverty, the correlation among poverty, early childbearing, and school failure suggests that it is quite high. With minimal education and the heavy responsibility of raising a family alone, poor young single mothers are seldom able to find jobs that pay enough to support themselves and their children at above poverty levels. Even full-time, year-round work at minimum wage jobs fails to bring a family of three even three-quarters of the way out of poverty.[77]

to have a modest effect on separation and divorce, but its overall effect on the proportion of single female heads of households is small.[79]

If readily available welfare benefits were the reason for rising proportions of single-parent families, welfare rolls would logically show a corollary increase. Instead, the reverse is true. Since the early 1970s, the period during which single-parent households have shown their greatest increase, the number of children receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the primary single-parent family welfare program, has fallen rather than increased. During this same period, the value of AFDC (which unlike Social Security and several other entitlements is not indexed to the cost of living) and food stamps, when taken together and adjusted for inflation, has been eroded by at least one-quarter.[80] The amounts of these two benefits vary from state to state, but nowhere do they lift a family out of poverty. In 40 states, they amount to less than 75 percent of the poverty level.[81] In nine states, the AFDC cash benefit is less than one-third of the poverty level.[82]

A more persuasive explanation argues that the increase in unmarried black families is at least a partial response to the widespread erosion in economic and social opportunities characteristic of many inner-city neighborhoods over the last two decades. Marriage, a primary escape route out of

> *This class transformation of the inner city drastically cuts off employment channels. . .there are fewer local businesses, service establishments and stores around that can offer jobs—not only full-time positions on which a wage-earner might be able to raise a family, but also the kind of part-time jobs that are crucial to socialize youths into the world of work.*
>
> — Loic J.D. Wacquant and William Julius Wilson[83]

poverty, makes little economic sense for many young black women when the pool of potential mates is filled with men whose educational attainment, current earnings, and occupational prospects are often worse than their own. As our Interim Report and Chapter 1 of this volume discuss in detail, the sharply deteriorating economic prospects and chronic unemployment of young black males correlates strikingly with declining black marriage rates and the rise in female-headed households. Unemployment among those trying to find work has risen among black 16-24-year-old males nationally from 13.8 percent in 1955 to 26.6 percent in 1986. Both unemployment and joblessness among those too discouraged to continue to look for work are undoubtedly far higher in many urban areas. The net result for black 20-24-year-old potential husbands was a 46.1 percent drop in real median annual earnings between 1974 and 1986 and close to a two-thirds drop in their marriage rates.[84] In March 1986, only 10.8 percent of 20-24-year-old black males were married, as were only 7.9 percent of those with less than a high school education. To paraphrase Chapter 1 of this report: The fewer years of education completed, the lower one's earnings; the lower one's earnings, the less likely that young men will marry.[85]

These young unmarried mothers and unemployed young men are, indeed, among the "truly disadvantaged"[86]—the term used by William T. Grant Commissioner William Julius Wilson to describe that heterogeneous group of families and individuals whose social isolation from groups of different class and or racial background, joblessness, lack of basic skills, long-term welfare dependency, or involvement in crime and aberrant behavior threatens to keep them permanently out of America's economic and social mainstream.

Estimates of the number of "truly disadvantaged" adult men, women, children, and young people range from about two to eight million persons. Recent research suggests that the size of this group of isolated poor is closer to the lower end of that range. A 1986 study of the latest available Census tract data on neighborhoods with generally homogeneous populations between 2,500 and 8,000 persons, conducted by the Urban Institute economist Isabel Sawhill and sociologist-demographer Erol Ricketts, identified those tracts with high concentrations of four risk factors commonly associated with persistent poverty: school failure, welfare receipt, marginal labor force participation, and female-headed households. They found that 880 of these urban neighborhoods, about two percent of all such urban areas, had high concentrations of all four factors simultaneously. These neighborhoods, about 99 percent in urban areas, contained about 2.5 million people or about one percent of the total US population. Some 58 percent were black, 11 percent were Hispanic, and 28 percent were classified white.[87] In another estimate, Harvard labor economist David T. Ellwood concludes that minorities who live in the poorest neighborhoods in the top 100 central cities, constitute six percent of the nation's poor.[88] Ellwood's colleague and Grant Commissioner Mary Jo Bane estimates that *approximately 688,000 16-24-year-olds live in these extreme poverty areas and that about half are poor themselves.*

Many refer to those who share the generalized problems of male unemployment, poor female-headed households, and entrenched poverty as members of a newly emerging "underclass." Although there can be little doubt that poverty in America's poorest neighborhoods has worsened in degree and kind since the

1960s, the Commission agrees with those analysts who prefer to avoid this label, arguing that *the term "underclass" is often used indiscriminately, lumps together people whose problems are widely different, and, as a result, overemphasizes the size of the group, their isolation from the larger society, and the intractability of their situation;* the image conveyed is of such concentrated poverty that it seems impossible to change and pointless to try.[89]

The Commission believes, to the contrary, that a good deal can and must be done to improve the life chances of these most forgotten of America's Forgotten Half. If any small satisfaction can be derived from the numbers we have cited, it is only that *America's truly disadvantaged young adults are, at once, too many to ignore and few enough so that, with the concerted help of a determined society, their life chances can be vastly improved.*

How many people do not work because they do not want to work?

How many people do not work because they don't know how to work?

Why, despite a common experience with slavery, is the native American black family so much more fractured than the families of black Americans from the West Indies?

Why are Puerto Rican families statistically more likely to be broken than Mexican-American families?[90]

But not having all the answers is no excuse for continuing a policy of neglect that condones the poverty and wasted futures of these young Americans and their families. Provided we have the political will to do so, we have sufficient research and practical knowledge to justify far greater efforts.

> ***When you don't recognize that your first line of defense is your own people, with priority to those who are weak and hungry. . .then the missile has not been invented that will save us.***
>
> **— Pastor John Steinbruck**
> **Luther Place Memorial Church,**
> **Washington, DC**

We make no claim that we fully understand the knot of chronic male unemployment, poor female-headed households, and persistent poverty that must be loosened if the number of this country's truly disadvantaged is to be diminished, nor that even our best efforts will be able to reach and redeem every impoverished family and disenfranchised youth. William T. Grant Commissioner Bernard C. Watson raises some questions that continue to trouble us:

How do we measure the number of those who reject commonly accepted values for a career of crime?

Why, if broken homes help create the underclass, don't all children become a part of it? Why does one go to college and another to jail?

Why did welfare roles and the incidence of crime explode in the 1960s when the nation's economy was strong and unemployment down?

Research tells us that what works are increased educational opportunities, improved employability through training and work experience, expanded job opportunities, social, medical, and job-related services, the provision of transitional income, and in-kind support—*as well as* a growing, more productive economy.[91] But research has also taught us realism. Overcoming long-term deficits is not an overnight process, nor is it one that will submit to any single solution.[92] *Individuals will need repeated opportunities and strong supports to try, sometimes to fail, and to try again. Programs that can hope to make a difference must last years instead of only a few weeks or months, and they must provide a full range of comprehensive supports, including the so-called "soft" services of counseling, case management, and emotional supports.*[93]

We second Lisbeth Schorr's findings that *the interventions that have the best chance of breaking the cycle of disadvantage are*

intensive, comprehensive, and *flexible.* Every bit as important, they are staffed by highly effective professionals and paraprofessionals who believe in their clients, understand their needs, and are willing to go to bat for them. In general, these programs:

- see the individual in the context of his or her family and each family in the context of its surroundings;
- offer a broad spectrum of services that are made easily available to clients who need them;
- find ways to circumvent bureaucratic barriers that limit the provision of all the services that their clients need;
- are flexible enough to allow professional staff reasonable discretion in meeting clients' needs;
- employ staff members whom clients perceive as caring and trustworthy.[94]

Effective programs are also those that are given the chance to work with individuals and their families over a long period of time and to continue their efforts even if "success" is not immediately apparent. Programs with the attributes outlined above must be given, like the people they are designed to serve, a genuine chance to succeed.

A program developed in 1968, under the auspices of the Yale University Child Study Center, lends support to the argument for comprehensive, intensive, and long-term support for young single mothers and their children. Developed by pediatrician Sally Provence and her colleague Audrey Naylor, a professor of clinical social work, the program provided intensive pediatric services, social work, high quality developmental childcare, and psychological services to 17 families beginning during the mothers' first pregnancies. All the participants had below poverty level incomes, averaged 11.5 years of schooling, and over half were unmarried. A team of skilled professionals provided continuous support for up to 30 months after the birth of each mother's first child to help them develop their own abilities and those of their children.

Two subsequent evaluations at five- and ten-year intervals using a control group of families showed the program's striking effect on socioeconomic status. Although no significant change was apparent at the end of the 30 month intervention, the five-year follow-up found the families to have "changed dramatically." More were having fewer children and were more frequently employed. By the ten-year follow-up, even greater gains were reported. Almost all the families were self-supporting while only half of the control families (all of which were matched on marital status) were off welfare. In contrast to the control families, whose socioeconomic standings had not changed in ten years, the number of self-supporting intervention families had climbed steadily upward in the years after the program ended.[95]

The Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation's (MDRC) New Chance program offers the promise of a well-researched and widely replicable model for assisting young single mothers to create successful lives for themselves and their children. Currently in a two-year demonstration phase in six communities across the country, the program prepares low-income single mothers between 17 and 21 for gainful employment. Its premise, drawing on years of research and practice with teen mothers, is that young women of working age are most likely to delay future pregnancies if they know they are sufficiently trained to succeed financially in the labor market. New Chance helps young mothers build job and vocational skills, gain experience through part-time jobs, and continue their basic education in a highly intensive, four-day-per week, 18-month program. In addition to job preparation, placement, and follow-up, New Chance takes away the stumbling blocks that impede success by providing childcare, family planning, training in child development, stipends, counseling, health care, and incentive payments. In late 1988, MDRC will assess the progress of its developmental phase.[96]

Evaluations of Job Corps, the nation's premier employment and training program for young adults with low educational attainment and insufficient vocational and basic skills—about half of whom come from welfare backgrounds—have repeatedly shown the value of long-term, intensive, and comprehensive services. Seventy-five percent of Job Corps enrollees move on to a job or full-time study; graduates retain jobs longer and earn about 15 percent more than if they had not participated in the program. Society benefits as well: about $1.46 is returned in increased productivity and unspent social services for every $1.00 invested in program costs.[97] Job Corps' new pilot program, Job Corps II, aims to continue this success. Two demonstration sites will replace the Corps' residential model with a daytime, non-residential program and broadened vocational offerings in an aggressive effort to attract young women, especially single mothers. Understanding that young mothers' first responsibility and concern is their children, Job Corps II is establishing

strong relationships with community agencies to ensure adequate childcare and support services for their participants.[98] But Job Corps is funded to service only a small minority of eligible youth.

The Commission recommends expansion of flexible, long-term, and comprehensive education, training, and employment programs specifically designed to give truly disadvantaged young people added chances to succeed. These programs should be tailored to individual needs and provide the assistance that will make success possible, including help with daycare, transportation, housing, health care, and training allowances.

Even with substantial help, however, not every young person caught in the web of school failure, early parenthood, unemployment, substance abuse, social isolation and crime will be able to untangle his or her life. *But we cannot assume that if these interventions do not work for all—or make as great a difference as we might like—that they are of no value to a great many.* Solutions to persistent poverty lie in small changes that, over a long period, can have large effects.

At the same time, we believe society's best and most cost efficient chance of reducing the stacked odds of persistent poverty is to identify risk factors and work to remove them before their onset.[99] ***The Commission recommends comprehensive, flexible, and coordinated services beginning early in life including family planning, prenatal health care, pre-parent training, continuing parent counseling and support, nutritional services, childcare, early childhood education, and health education.*** These can reduce the need for subsequent, more costly services and underpin effective education and training opportunities for older youth and young adults.

The Commission also believes more flexible educational opportunities, improved relationships with adults, incentives to keep young people in school, and transitional programs to help bridge the gap between school and work are necessary to continue to prevent problems and foster success.

Evaluations of Head Start, a pioneering effort in comprehensive, preventive services for children and their families, found that positive outcomes appear in children and families several years after program participation. Launched in 1965, Head Start was designed to help communities break the cycle of disadvantage through a multi-faceted program of education, social services, health, and parent involvement for children between the ages of three and school age. The program has been enthusiastically supported by families and communities since its inception and continued to receive federal funds despite a widely-publicized 1969 preliminary study by the Westinghouse Learning Corporation that found that early cognitive gains appeared to have washed out over time.[100]

A 1985 analysis of 210 research documents on local Head Start programs suggests that persistent funding has been well worth the investment. It reports that those studies that have looked at several long-term measures of school success have found that Head Start children are less likely than non-Head Start children to repeat a grade of school or to be assigned to special education classes. The evaluation also shows that compared to parents of children in non-Head Start preschools, Head Start parents receive more health, nutrition, and social service help from staff, develop better links with a wide range of community-based services, and increase their use of health care.[101]

Chicago's Beethoven Project, a recently undertaken effort to provide multiple and intensive preventive services to families for an extended period, hopes to show that long-term vision, patience, and financial commitment can make a difference. This $1.2 million public/private partnership, funded by the Illinois Department of Health and Human Services and the Harris Foundation, identified the entire kindergarten class of 1993 about to be born to mothers living in the Robert Taylor Homes, one of the country's largest low-income housing projects. Named after the nearby elementary school, Beethoven aims to offset the losses of growing up in concentrated poverty and long-term isolation by providing a full range of preventive health, education, and parenting services to approximately 150 children and their families.

Central to the program are "family advocates," often former teen mothers themselves, who live in or near the Taylor Homes. Each advocate develops close personal relationships with the children and mothers she works with and helps them to understand and use the services the program offers. In addition to teaching young mothers the basics of sound prenatal and infant health care and nutrition, advocates also help them start family albums and journals to track their child's early growth and accomplishments. Family advocates help young mothers understand normal development, teach them how to talk

with and care for their infants, listen to their concerns, frustrations, and worries, and offer the counsel and compassion of a more experienced mother. As the children grow older, they will begin a special program for toddlers and later move on to Head Start. Beethoven's five-year effort to give children the help they need to meet their potential and to enter school as well-prepared as middle-class children will be carefully monitored, and the success of children who complete the program will be compared to those in similar circumstances who have not received services.[102]

As this Commission and many others have repeatedly argued, *the time to begin to alter the course of poverty is before birth. But at every stage of development throughout life, tested interventions can improve an individual's chances for a happier and more productive life.* In *Toward A More Perfect Union*, authors Gordon Berlin and Andrew Sum underscore this crucial point:

> *. . .some analysts have concluded that socioeconomic status and family background predetermine a situation that cannot be altered. The truth is otherwise: it is never too late to intervene. However, to make a meaningful difference, we must begin thinking about a lifetime of multiple interventions in which both mother's and child's skills are improved at key points in the developmental process.*[103]

Because it is never too late to intervene, the Commission urges that coordinated systems be developed to deliver individualized services to all members of truly disadvantaged families, children, adolescents, and adults.

Society's goal, as recommended by the National Research Council's Panel on Adolescent Pregnancy and Childbearing, should be to promote sound economic, social, health, and developmental outcomes for young people.[104] Our efforts must not end until the cycle of disadvantage has been replaced by an equally predictable cycle of opportunities.

PATHWAYS TO SUCCESS:

Recommendations

Many groups of young people must overcome especially high barriers to participate fully in community life. To increase their opportunities we recommend:

For Youth with Disabilities:

- full enforcement and aggressive enhancement of existing state and federal legislation guaranteeing the civil rights of people with disabilities. (p. 107)
- increased support of independent living programs; hiring incentives for employers; and restructured benefit packages, including health insurance, to eliminate disincentives to work. (p. 106)
- expanded use of adults with disabilities as role models and mentors; and the inclusion of youth with disabilities in community service and youth organizations. (p. 107)

For Out-of-Home Youth:

- intensive family preservation models that provide sufficient services and individualized, long-term casework help to protect children, maintain families, and prevent out-of-home foster care. (p. 111)
- increased attention to the development and replication of independent living models; and added-chance employment, training, and life skills opportunities that target out-of-home youth. (p. 111, 113)
- decriminalization of running away and improved national data collection on runaway and homeless young people. (p. 113)

For Rural Youth:

- improved employment and job training opportunities for all rural youth including the poorest; expanded social service delivery; and youth involvement in comprehensive economic and social development planning efforts. (p. 116)

For the "Truly Disadvantaged":

- comprehensive, flexible, and coordinated services beginning early in life including family planning, prenatal health care, pre-parent training, continuing parent counseling and support, nutritional services, childcare, early childhood education, and health education. (p. 122)
- individualized services simultaneously delivered to all members of at-risk families including flexible educational opportunities, improved counseling, one-to-one relationships with adults, incentives to keep youth in school and transitional programs to help bridge the gap between school and work. (p. 123)
- multiple added-chance opportunities for education, training, and employment, transitional income, and in-kind support specifically targeted to the most disadvantaged. (p. 122)

Educated and trained people are an unlimited resource, while uneducated and untrained people are unlimited liabilities.

— Ray Marshall, former US Secretary of Labor

Chapter 7

Pathways to Success: Expanding Opportunities in Education and Training

This chapter considers the education and training needs of the Forgotten Half—the young men and women who do not attend college after completing high school, as well as the far too many young people who fail to complete high school and need alternative opportunities to acquire or upgrade their skills. While the large majority of our youth do graduate from high school, a substantial portion of these graduates require extensive remediation in order to perform at expected levels of basic academic skills and work readiness. Many young people could benefit from additional study later in life—including higher education—to advance their careers and to pursue new goals.

For a variety of reasons, these young people, without more directed help, will not have access to the knowledge and skills that will help them meet their full potential as workers, parents, and citizens. Some of the Forgotten Half have interests and talents untapped by traditional schooling. Others have never known the guidance, encouragement, and financial assistance—from either family or community—that most young people need to enter and succeed in high school and postsecondary education. And, in far too many cases, existing opportunities for education and training are clearly inadequate.

Although their education and training needs vary greatly, all members of the Forgotten Half are at a distinct disadvantage compared with young people who go on to formal collegiate or career studies directly after high school graduation. In this chapter, we shall look at various aspects of this disadvantage with a view to devising more effective and more equitable policies for meeting the education and training needs of *all* our young people. Finally, we shall consider the principles of **Fair Chance: Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act**, an initiative to test these policies in one or more areas of every state in the Union.

In our Interim Report and in Chapter 1 of this Final Report, we explored the rapidly changing reward structure in the world of work. We stressed that, *in the population as a whole, the best jobs and highest earnings generally go to those with the highest levels of academic attainment.* This is because most employers view postsecondary education degrees, diplomas, certificates, and educational attainment and years of formal study as *proxies* for the ability to perform work at advanced skill levels. In effect, we now have a five-tiered education/reward structure:[1]

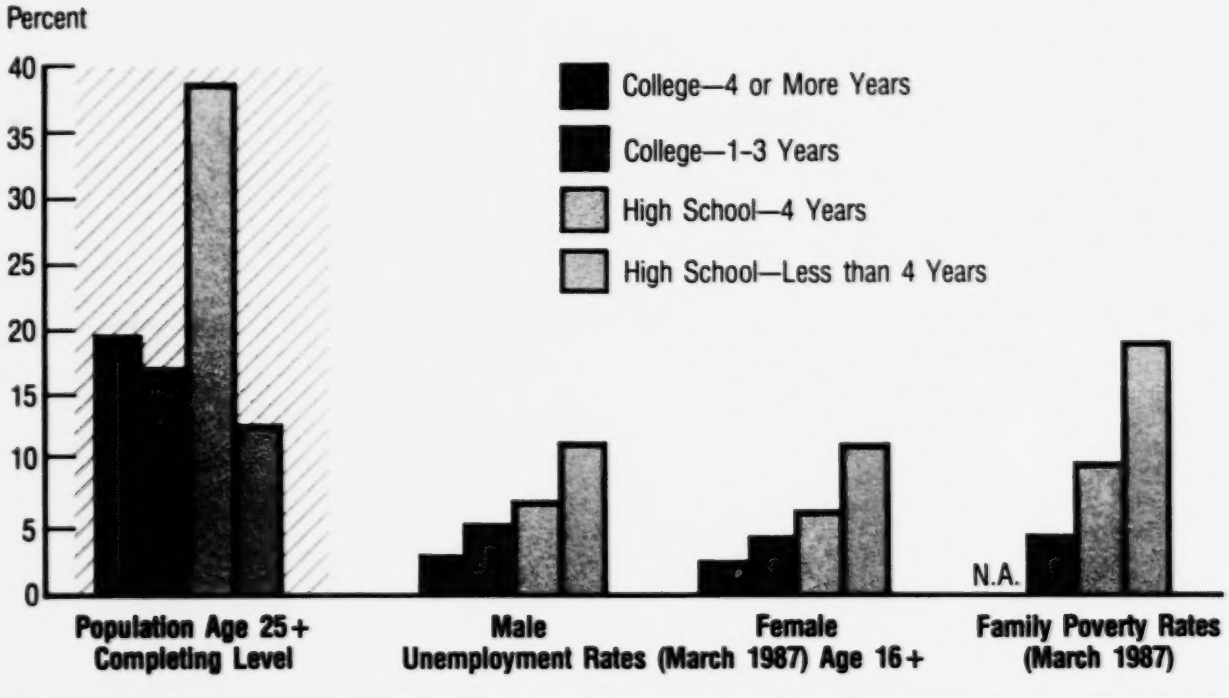
- Four or more years of college generally leads to the best remuneration and highest status employment—what most Americans equate with "success."
- Some postsecondary education, even without a degree, leads to a significant improvement in earnings over mere high school completion.
- A high school diploma, long considered the single most powerful predictor of

COLLEGE GRADUATES ARE ONE-FIFTH AS LIKELY TO BE UNEMPLOYED AS HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUTS

TABLE 8
Education, Unemployment, Poverty*

Educational Level Completed	Percent of Population Age 25+ Completing Level	Unemployment Rates, of Persons Age 25-64 (March 1987) Male	Female	Family Poverty Rate (March 1987) (Head of Household Age 25+)
College—4 or More Years	19.4%	2.5%	2.1%	N.A.
College—1-3 Years	16.9	5.0	4.0	4.0%
High School—4 Years	38.4	6.7	5.8	9.5
High School—1-4 Years	11.9	11.2	10.9	18.5
Averages		6.0%	5.2%	10.9%

***Note:** U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1988.* Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1988; Tables 202, 634 (data for older workers provided by Bureau of Labor Statistics, July 1988), 719.



success in the labor market, is now the *minimum* requirement for entry into today's workforce. But the diploma no longer guarantees being able to support a family at decent living standards.

- High school dropouts are unlikely to be considered for employment much above minimum wage, except in geographic areas characterized by severe labor shortages and relative economic prosperity. Their future among the working poor is bleak.
- School dropouts who disconnect from society and succumb to lives of crime, addiction, chronic unemployment, and dependency are headed for personal disaster with its attendant social costs.

Table 8 demonstrates graphically the strong correlation between educational attainment—or years of formal schooling completed—and the individual's chances for avoiding unemployment and poverty.

In short, college graduates generally are about one-fifth as likely to be unemployed as high school dropouts. They also have negligible poverty rates compared with the almost one in five high school dropouts who are trying to support a family with below poverty-level income. Women and minorities do not fare as well as white males, but the relationships depicted above nevertheless pertain.

The striking correlation between educational attainment and employment and earnings is amply demonstrated. As a broad generalization, it seems beyond question that *the more years of formal education and training completed, the greater one's employability and annual income.* Considered purely as an economic investment, education and training pay off handsomely for both the individual and the society. (See further discussion in **Appendix E**.)

Education and training thus remain the Forgotten Half's most fundamental and reliable pathways to success. Knowledge and skills open doors to current employment opportunities that would otherwise remain closed. More important, advanced skills and competencies—particularly the ability to think flexibly and creatively about new technologies and emerging problems—make it possible for both the individual and society to adapt in a world of endlessly wrenching change. And with such skills and competencies come the earnings that make it possible to have a decent living, to support one's family, and to contribute responsibly to the community.

An essential fact, however, is that *the nation makes no investment in the* **non-***collegiate education and training of youth that is even remotely comparable to the help offered to those who do pursue formal career training and collegiate education.* By any reasonable calculation, federal, state, and local governments provide only token support for "second-chance" remediation and employment training programs that assist a small fraction of American youth. Yet, ironically, non-college-bound youth are precisely those young people who most need the benefits of publicly-supported education and training in order to become productive and economically self-sufficient adults.

In this chapter, therefore, we turn our attention to some steps the nation must take to expand opportunities for education and training for *all* our young people, those who go to college and those who do not.

To upgrade the skills and knowledge our youth will need as they prepare to enter the labor force, establish themselves as workers, and begin to create families of their own will surely require additional investments of public and private funds. But first must come *changes in public attitudes.* Three especially pernicious and erroneous beliefs that should be altered are:

Myth # 1 - "All young people seeking to enter the world of work directly from high school can make it on their own, with little concern or support from the larger society." This notion may have been true in an expanding economy with a simpler technological basis. But a vastly changed—and rapidly changing—labor market means that many young people, even with high school diplomas, require additional education and training, including remediation in many cases, before they can realize their potential in the workplace and assume responsibility in their families and communities.

Myth # 2 - "In the 21st century, college education will be the *only* way to assure economic and career success." The case for a persistent dedication of additional resources to higher education is a strong one, vigorously supported by this Commission. Collegiate studies could greatly enhance the life chances of many more young people than currently pursue them.

We also believe that *wise public policy should stress the acquisition of skills and trained talents, no matter how and where they are acquired.* We do not endorse the simple (and misguided) proposition that *every* young person should have a liberal arts or pre-professional college education. That would neither address the needs of the economy nor the talents and ambitions of many in the Forgotten Half. We need a more

flexible spectrum, ranging from graduate and professional education through studies leading to the baccalaureate and to all forms of vocational and career training. That spectrum should encourage individuals to move within it at any time during their working lives. *In short, we should consider the needs of all our young people for education and training* — those who pursue college degrees and other forms of postsecondary education* *and* those who do not, but who do need additional education and training to succeed in the world of work. ***We should expand the access of many more members of the Forgotten Half to higher education and, at the same time, provide new recognition and support of alternative pathways to skills and competence.***

Myth # 3 - "The Forgotten Half are not as good or valuable in this society as the other, or 'remembered,' half." In this supposedly classless society, we make perfunctory bows to the dignity of labor and the blue collar worker. But our very success in educating a broad spectrum of our population has led us to substitute educational attainment and educational credentials for the non-merit-based distinctions of "right family" and "station in life" that divide traditional societies. While to some extent this is unavoidable in a nation striving to be a meritocracy, "credentialism" should be resisted at every turn. We must strive to keep open the doors of opportunity to those who lack the "right papers," *as long as they can do the job at hand.*

The Commission calls for a broader recognition by both employers and policymakers that many essential and well-rewarded occupations do *not* require college education. (Indeed, about 20 percent of recent college graduates take up initial employment requiring no prior college study.) These occupations demand careful guidance, encouragement, sound educational preparation, and much dedicated personal effort, but a college degree is often neither the most appropriate nor the most cost effective training. Many effective forms of education and training also occur in non-collegiate settings. These other teaching institutions deserve much more recognition and, in some cases perhaps, financial support so that opportunities for further education and training for the non-college-bound may be expanded.

Toward More Options in Learning

Just as people's needs for education vary, so there are many different ways and places to acquire the knowledge that is essential to both economic self-sufficiency and the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. We start with a basic belief that all people have the capacity to learn. What they learn should be fundamentally the same. However, since people learn in different ways and at different paces, how, where, when, and with whom they learn should be determined by what works best for the individual learner.[2]

Research has shown that effective learning is closely related to successful performance in the workplace and, therefore, to productivity and product quality, two aspects of our economy requiring urgent attention. Learning takes place when learners regard what one needs to know as relevant to their lives; when they feel that their teachers (by whatever title is applied to the function) are committed to the student's success; when the institutional environment allows for differences in learning methods and styles and is in harmony with the diverse needs and interests of the learner.[3]

We believe that Harvard educator Howard Gardner is on the right track when he counsels against taking a limited view of human intelligence as a single capacity shared in varying measure by everyone and, instead, posits the existence of "several relatively autonomous human intellectual competences," or "frames of mind." Most schools place greatest stress in their pedagogy on the development of logical-mathematical intelligence and tend to ignore a series of equally valid intelligences: linguistic, musical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, and others. "The cost," writes Gardner, "of attempting to treat all individuals the same, or trying to convey knowledge to individuals in ways uncongenial to their preferred modes of learning may be great."[4]

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* The commonly-used term "postsecondary education" is a highly amorphous concept, including at least 6,600 collegiate and noncollegiate institutions receiving federal student financial aid, ranging from large research universities, liberal arts colleges, post-high school public vocational-technical institutions, 1,300 community colleges, and over 2,800 noncollegiate proprietary career or trade schools.

Thus, the Commission endorses a mixture of abstract and experiential learning opportunities, a combination of conceptual study with concrete applications and practical problem-solving. That is why our Interim Report and the previous chapters urge a renewed look at some time-tested devices for sound learning: cooperative education, work-study, apprenticeships, internships, service-learning, community service, youth-operated enterprises, on-the-job training, and mentorship. As a result of our site visits as well as our surveys, we are convinced that *these experienced-based educational mechanisms offer some of the most exciting opportunities available anywhere in America for sound learning and healthy personal development.* For *some* young people, certainly, they can be vastly more productive than schools or colleges. And that is why we consider "educational institutions" to include not only classrooms, libraries, and laboratories, but also other environments where purposeful and effective learning can take place: the workplace, public and non-profit agencies, museums and cultural institutions, the media, youth agencies and community services, field studies and workshops in the out-of-doors, and community-based organizations in the inner city. Trigonometry learned in the school's machine shop or in the workplace complements study in the classroom. Botany may be learned in a horticultural laboratory or in a field station or, better yet, in both.

And that is why we agree with noted educator John Goodlad[5] that properly conceived and directed vocational-technical education, combining hands-on work experience with mastery of academic, conceptual materials, deserves far greater recognition than it currently enjoys among many educators and policymakers. The kind of person who wants to know how to *apply* geometry *before* and while learning the first theorem, or to overhaul a carburetor and valves *before* and while learning the theories of combustion and energy conversion—is often turned off by an educational system that almost uniformly insists that classroom-taught abstraction and theory *must* precede application. Students who balk at conforming to the educator's notions about "the proper order of things" may well be deemed "slow learners" and tagged as potential educational failures.

Learning best by experience ought not bar youngsters from pursuing advanced education or succeeding in important areas of secondary school learning in such fields as history and literature. There is good evidence that skillful teachers can adapt such studies to the learning modes and motivation patterns of a variety of students. Students who now drop out of high school, go to work, and later enter college at age 25-40 bear witness to the potential now being missed by the rather rigid learning assumptions of some of our secondary schools. *Experiential learning, while maybe not the best teacher for all, certainly deserves more centrality in the constellation of ways we provide for our youth to be successful in life.*

Rather than placing so large and exclusive a premium on possession of a diploma or degree and on other forms of credentialing used as screening mechanisms for the selection of winners and losers, employers need better ways of assessing a person's skills and competencies, regardless of where and under what institutional auspices they were attained. Until these are made available, however reluctantly, prudence would counsel young people to strive to acquire the credentials that most employers use to screen their job applicants. That means graduating from high school and completing as many years of formal education as possible.

The range of existing post-high school educational options we support, including vocational and technical education, paraprofessional training, and academic study, is wide enough to accommodate the diverse needs, career aspirations, talents, and learning styles of all our young. However, we believe that much more can and must be done to *encourage access to, retention in, and completion of all forms of education and training which, in turn, will help make more of our young people successful parents, workers, and citizens.*

We are not talking about second-rate systems of learning. Rather, we argue that there are numerous avenues of learning and that our expectations are too frequently tuned only to narrow, exclusively academically-oriented assumptions. Many who learn by other modes could benefit from postsecondary educational opportunities that respond to a wide range of learning styles. And many young people could, in time, find their way to a successful college career if they are not prematurely labeled as educational "losers."

Desirable public policy points to a *triple strategy*:

- Expanding opportunities for more of our youth to benefit from college and university education;
- Developing *simultaneously* the full spectrum of educating agencies available

after high school along with the guidance services to help youth reach them; and

- Helping more of our young to make a successful high school-to-work transition with opportunities for training after leaving high school.

In the balance of this chapter, we explore some measures to bring these general objectives closer to fruition. We are convinced that increased investments of time, money, and individual effort in expanded opportunities for education and training offer the Forgotten Half pathways to both economic self-sufficiency and personal fulfillment.

Underinvestment in the Nation's Young

The Commission's Interim Report documents an unmistakable *pattern of underinvestment in the nation's youth, particularly those who do not choose the college option*, and points to the potentially devastating social consequences of continuing to neglect the educational needs of young Americans seeking to make the transition directly from school to work.

Despite the very real benefits of non-collegiate post-high school education and training, such opportunities are considered "second-best" by many policymakers and by much of the educational establishment whose major priority is college education. Far too many of our young people are not encouraged to pursue such non-collegiate education, nor are the financial and counseling supports in place to make such learning a viable possibility for many of them. High school guidance counselors, for example, spend much of their time on pre-college counseling, rather than on pre-employment options. Indeed, one recent study shows that the income and education levels of the students' community, rather than the students' abilities and interests, determines the kind of counseling offered to young people. Counselors in wealthy communities reported spending about seven times as much of their time on college counseling as did counselors in low-income neighborhoods.[6] Granted, these are situations in which students typically expect to go to college and have the resources to carry through with those expectations. However, all counselors require more training and information to understand and encourage the full range of opportunities, collegiate and non-collegiate, available to young people. (**Appendix F** contains examples of programs that improve educational success rates beyond high school.)

Like high school counseling, student financial aid programs also favor college attendance. At the federal level, approximately $10 billion in student aid funds (leveraging a total of about $17 billion in loans and grants), plus another $1 billion in a variety of institutional supports, are channeled to postsecondary education institutions each year. State and local governments add tax revenues of about $30 billion, while endowment earnings and private gifts boost society's total support to some $46 billion annually.[7]

Thus, public and private support amounts to about $4,200 annually for each of the almost 11 million students pursuing all forms of postsecondary education. Excluding from our calculations the approximately two million students in proprietary institutions,* we find that *the combined annual public-private-state-local-federal subsidy to each student pursuing collegiate-level education approximates $5,000, or $20,000 for a four-year program.*

We underline once again that we do not fault this investment in collegiate education. On the contrary, we think it ought to be significantly expanded for all who seek it for their personal fulfillment, as well as for continued American eminence in the world of knowledge. Our point in offering these calculations is to compare the resources that our society devotes to the development of each college-bound student with the far smaller investments we currently make on behalf of members of the Forgotten Half—those who are unlikely to pursue a four-year baccalaureate or a community college program.

Just how large or small is society's combined investment in the post-high school development of youth who do *not* pursue collegiate postsecondary education? One large federal program specifically designed to address the employment needs of students in the Forgotten Half is the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act.

* Students in 2,800+ proprietary institutions received 21-25 percent of the various federal student aid funds, e.g., $855 million in Pell Grants in 1986-87, of which $596 million was for training of less than two-years' duration.

Enrolling 19 million students, about a quarter of whom study in public community colleges and technical institutes, the Act's current appropriation buys 31 percent less than its 1980 purchasing power. The legislation is slated for review and authorization by the Congress in 1989, and its performance is now being evaluated by a major Congressionally-mandated national assessment.[8]

The Commission supports strong instruction in core subjects, but we reject the notion espoused by some educators that high schools should teach only academic skills that are geared to those going to college and that are ordinarily taught in a manner that ignores the learning styles of many young people. Given the varying needs of a diverse population of learners, continued concentration on college-bound students will drive an even larger percentage of our students to educational failure.

The Commission is not equipped to pass judgment on the Perkins Act, but we welcome a rigorous review of the Act as an essential part of any publicly-financed program. *We believe that there is an important role for high quality vocational-technical education in the high schools, particularly when it is linked with postsecondary programs in community colleges and technical institutes or with quality apprenticeship programs.* Presently, however, students enrolled in vocational education programs take an average of two fewer academic courses than students in college preparatory programs, while their mathematics, science, and English studies are usually only general survey courses. It is essential that *all* vocational students study significant subjects—history, government, chemistry, literature, and algebra, for example—and achieve appreciation and understanding of these areas that goes beyond the usually less demanding "general mathematics" and "general sciences" courses. Furthermore, the enhancement of learning skills and flexible, problem-solving behavior must remain strongly on the agenda of vocational education.[9]

We reiterate the position taken in Chapter 4: *Education methods and future work demands must be better linked. While the responsibility of schools is not solely to prepare students for college or work, an emphasis on cooperative work strategies, experiential learning, and instruction that requires thinking skills, rather than rote memorization, better prepares young people for the complex workplace they will soon confront.*

Together, the schools and community colleges could help to prepare many more of the Forgotten Half for further education or for training beyond high school leading to well-paid careers that do not require a college degree. After all, chefs, plumbers, electricians, carpenters, machinists, pipe fitters, masons, welders, diesel mechanics, and medical and dental technicians—already in short supply—are occupations likely to provide far more employment, often at far better wages, than the highly-touted high tech jobs.[10] In the longer view, high quality technical education is essential for the labor force that will produce and sustain the electronic, biomedical, aerospace, and other technologies of the 21st century on which the well-being of the United States and its citizens will heavily depend.

Second- or Added-Chance Programs

In addition to broadening the range of learning opportunities for those who successfully complete high school, the Commission believes that added attention must be paid to those who have not.

The largest federal employment preparation program, the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), remains the primary public program for helping dropouts and the unemployed enter or re-enter the labor force. We have previously noted the Act's great promise, as well as its deficiencies, and the fact that its current appropriation, down 70 percent from its predecessor in 1980, supports only an estimated five percent of those eligible for training. Few JTPA trainees are helped to meet living costs or are assisted with essential childcare. Thus, the Act is severely handicapped in its ability to reach persons who require income and support services while they are in training. Most distressing, close observers of the Act's administration conclude that the primary beneficiaries of the training are those needing the least remediation rather than those with the most severe deficits and for whom the long-term benefits would be greatest. The Act currently provides an average of only 18 weeks of instruction at a cost of $2,320 per successfully placed youth or $1,835 for each terminee, successful or not. This minimal level of training and development may help some, but it cannot make up for long-accumulated skills deficits.[11] Nor can it begin to level the playing field for members of the Forgotten Half in comparison with their more favored peers who pursue postsecondary education with $20,000 or more in subsidies from their states and the national government over the course of a four-year education.

At the federal level, there is funding for the youth, post-high school education and training provisions of the Job Training Partnership Act (including the Job Corps and Summer Youth Employment and Training Program), Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act, Work Incentive Program, Vocational Rehabilitation Act, National Apprenticeship Act, and Adult Education Act. *We estimate that the combined annual federal appropriations for these programs does not exceed $3.5 billion. This is less than one-third of the annual federal investment in postsecondary education students* (including those enrolled in short-term career training programs).

State and local funding for non-college youth programs serving 16-24-year-olds is more difficult to calculate. We know that under $150 million is expended on behalf of the approximately 50,000 youth participating in the 50 state and local conservation and service corps programs. Some post-high school youth also benefit from vocational training funded under state and local vocational education, economic development, adult education, and employment service programs, as well as the juvenile and criminal justice systems. *Even by the most liberal calculations, the combined state-local and federal education and training investment on behalf of civilian post-high school-age, non-college youth does not reach $7 billion annually. This is approximately one-seventh of society's combined investments for college-bound youth.* Paradoxically, because of the regressive nature of many state taxation systems, the taxes that support college education for the more favored half of our youth place a major burden on low-income people. This glaring inequity alone is a major justification for funding greater opportunities for the Forgotten Half.

On Student Financial Assistance

The availability and type of student financial assistance is a significant determinant of whether young people seek entrance to postsecondary education and whether, once admitted, they persist in their studies. Research by Alexander W. Astin and W.C. Blanchfield, among numerous others, shows that "scholarships and grants relate positively to student retention. . .and loans (especially large ones) relate negatively to retention."[12] Thanks to the expansion of student aid opportunities during the 1960s and 1970s, "rates of degree-credit college entry rose by a third or more for high school graduates of medium and lower socioeconomic background and academic skills."[13]

Since 1980, however, tuition and fees paid by students and their families at public and private colleges have risen by 70 and 90 percent, respectively, much faster than family income. During the same period, federal student aid, adjusted for inflation, grew by just three percent. *In 1980, the maximum federal Pell Grant covered over 40 percent of the average tuition bill. Today, it covers only 29 percent.* (The average Pell Grant award is $1,300 a year; the maximum is $2,100.)

Moreover, *federal aid has shifted dramatically from grants to guaranteed student loans, which now account for 66 percent of all aid, as opposed to only 21 percent in 1976. Consequently, student indebtedness has increased by 60 percent.* And, apparently, fear of incurring massive debts is taking its toll on college enrollment. *From 1980-1986, the proportion of students from blue collar families enrolling in college dropped by one-fifth while black enrollment fell from 34 percent in 1976 to 25 percent in 1985 and Hispanic enrollment declined from 36 to 27 percent.*[14]

Student financial aid programs have grown in great profusion and substantial volume in recent years—at all levels of government, in our colleges, and in the private sector. (As we have noted, federal student financial aid for the college-bound now exceeds $10 billion annually.) Yet this growth is accompanied by enormous complexity, lack of adequate information, inconsistency, and, especially, *unpredictability.* It is simply impossible for most low-income youth to have the *assurance* early in their school careers, or even in their senior year in high school, that they will have access to the funds needed to continue their education beyond high school.

While a thorough discussion of existing public and private student financial aid policy lies beyond the scope of this report, the central finding of researchers merits heavy emphasis: *at present levels of funding, student financial aid and publicly-financed employment training programs reach only a small fraction of the young people who could succeed with their help.* The long-term cost of such short-term "economy" can only be measured in greatly diminished personal and national accomplishment. That a large number of our Forgotten Half can be moved into highly productive roles by the more widespread availability of financial aid and necessary student support services is, to us, beyond question.

Ingredients of Success in Expanding Educational Opportunity

The Commission's primary interests are twofold: (1) to broaden access to education and training for both the college-bound and for those who could benefit from other forms of study, and (2) to establish effective coordination of existing resources in support of all forms of post-high school education. In most mid-sized and larger communities, a base of institutional resources and opportunities already exists to help many non-college youth. Student aid funds, including Pell Grants and guaranteed student loans, are available to those enrolled in vocational educational programs, community colleges, and proprietary schools. Portions of the federal funds provided under the Job Training Partnership Act, Vocational Rehabilitation Act, Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act, the Work Incentive (WIN) Program, and employment initiatives contained in welfare reform legislation now being considered in the Congress can also be used for remedial education, job training, and support services. *The challenge is for states and communities to pull these disparate initiatives and resources together into a cohesive whole, one that not only identifies individuals needing these programs but also guarantees them access to counseling and a broad range of employment preparation and/or advanced education programs.* There is also a special need for applying this coordinated approach in rural areas that are not well served by existing programs.

We are not the first to identify the need for closer collaboration among the various agencies that provide education, training, and social services to youth. Several public commissions and study groups have recognized that even though multiple services are available in many communities, most agencies offer only a single kind of assistance. Youth who know how to negotiate the system can construct a patchwork of services that may meet the better part of their needs. More frequently, however, many young people never find the right combination of guidance, educational program, financial aid, and support services. Sometimes all the necessary services just don't exist. More often than not, however, the burden is placed on the young person who doesn't know where to look. Agencies will often make referrals and suggest additional sources of aid, but they are not usually equipped to offer more than minimal guidance and follow-up. Too many youth who might otherwise succeed never find their way to the help they need—on the right day, with the right paperwork, and able to ask the right questions.

The barriers to coordinated service delivery, while persistent, are not insurmountable. Given forceful and effective leadership, they can be overcome. State and local mechanisms to ensure coordination could include the creation of fully-authorized and accountable interagency task forces, commissions, or cabinet-level positions in the governor's or mayor's office. Their assignment would be to promote interdepartmental cooperation, resolve conflicting requirements and uncertainties of responsibility among agencies and programs, and establish systems for cross-agency budgetary accountability. Above all, their main purpose would be guaranteeing the provision of education and necessary support services to youth who need them.

Past experience and research have identified the essential programmatic components necessary to attract and retain youth in employment training programs that lead to stable employment. These key elements include:

- aggressive *outreach and recruitment*, often by community-based groups with strong ties to, and credibility in, the youth's neighborhoods;
- careful *assessment of student abilities* in order to identify and respond to individual needs;
- *remedial education, literacy training,* and English-as-a-second-language (ESL) programs for youth with weak basic academic skills;
- strong *peer support and/or mentoring efforts* to bolster self-esteem, provide positive role models, and offer substantive instructional assistance (see Chapter 2 above regarding the critical role of mentoring and related adult supports);
- *individual counseling and life planning skills* instruction to avoid or resolve personal and family crises;
- *childcare* and basic *medical insurance* for those who need it;
- *flexible training options*, including on-the-job training and experiential learning opportunities, as well as traditional classroom-centered approaches;
- *combined work and training* efforts that engage young people in productive work within their communities while also providing needed income support through wages, stipends, or other forms of income assistance; and

- vigorous *job development and placement* activities, including follow-up evaluations, to ensure successful transition to permanent employment.[15]

Some community colleges and trade or technical schools are occasionally able to incorporate one or more of these elements into their programs. Few institutions acting alone, however, have the capacity to respond with the full range of supports needed by young people seeking to make a successful transition to a career. Multiple services offered through a coordinated delivery system need to replace the current patchwork of support services.

Such services are typically provided to college-going youth in residential colleges. They receive help that includes a regular advisor to assist with academic choices and personal problems, help in finding part-time employment while attending college along with a major federal subsidy (work-study funds) to pay for it, health services, special remediation if academic failure threatens, and even psychiatric counseling if needed, all coordinated by deans of students and other functionaries. *Non-college youth pursuing other forms of learning have similar needs, as do college-going students commuting from home, but such services are seldom available to them.*

Heyday of Educational Opportunity: The GI Bill

In 1920, high school was only beginning to be thought of as a prerequisite for successful participation in the economy and in civic life; only 20 percent of our youth were high school graduates. Not until after World War II did most states and communities see high school education as a societal necessity and tax themselves to support it as a near-universal "right."

In 1944, the United States launched the greatest expansion of educational opportunity in our history and simultaneously embarked upon the greatest home construction boom of all time. Both were made possible by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, more popularly, the GI Bill of Rights.

Under that Act and its successors, over 19 million young Americans pursued various forms of education and training. Forty-five percent of participating GIs attended collegiate higher education, while the remaining 10 million chose some form of vocational-technical education and agricultural or other career training at a total cost to date exceeding $60 billion. At its postwar peak, GI Bill expenditures were one percent of the Gross National Product—the equivalent of $45 *billion* today.

By this one stroke of national policy, the nation's pool of trained talent was expanded many fold and the postsecondary educational domain, once the preserve of an affluent elite, was democratized beyond that of any other country.* Fueled, at least in part, by so many newly skilled hands and trained minds, the United States enjoyed the longest period of economic expansion and prosperity in our history. What started out as an effort to be fair to demobilized servicemen, who had lost time while on active duty, turned out to be one of the best investments ever in ensuring American prosperity.

Today, about 86 percent of all 25-year-olds have completed the 12th grade or earned the GED equivalent, and there is virtually a national consensus that this completion rate is insufficient for today's and, especially, tomorrow's economy. (Japan's secondary school completion rate is 93 percent.) Dropout prevention and school completion programs are currently among the highest priorities of our schools and communities—as well they should be. (See Chapters 3 and 4 of our Interim Report for a discussion of some successful school completion approaches.)

The nation's experience under the GI Bill also demonstrated that *if access to education and training are not restricted by one's income, a substantial proportion of young people have the inherent talents and capacity to learn and to succeed.* Many more low-income youth can succeed and can be helped to succeed. We have well over a quarter of a century of intensive experience to prove it. Indeed, if the experience of the nation's 105 historically black colleges (HBCs) is considered, we have well over a *century* of invaluable lessons in how to encourage educational achievement and success in later life. HBCs, only three percent of all institutions of higher learning,

* During the same period, opportunity was also greatly extended in another critical ingredient of young people's success in life: 12 million veterans and their families were helped to buy homes, guaranteed by $263 billion in Veterans Administration loans—and at a default record of less than four percent. (Veterans Administration, *Annual Report 1986*)

There are eight rungs of righteousness. The highest is when you help a man to help himself.

— Moses Maimonides (1180 A.D.)

today serve about 22 percent of all blacks enrolled in college and award about 40 percent of the undergraduate degrees earned by black students. More than half of these students come from families earning less than $14,000 annually—one-third have family incomes of $6,000 or less—and about 90 percent require financial aid to pursue their studies.[16] The HBCs' record demonstrates that low-income youth can become accomplished professionals in every field, as well as self-sustaining workers, taxpayers, parents, and community resources. *We would like to see the record of success of America's historically black colleges extended to include many more young people.*

The programs discussed in **Appendix F** illustrate the kind of support services that have made success in collegiate education possible for many thousands of low-income students. Similar services made available to aid youth in technical and vocational institutions and other education and career training providers would increase that number many fold. Finding the true levels and limits of success, though, will require efforts—and investments—far greater than any we have been willing to make thus far.

The nation is in need of a bold, broad, investment-oriented approach that can stimulate national growth through enhanced personal opportunity. If we expect our young people to contribute positively to America's future and a more productive economy, we must give them the tools and the opportunities to prepare themselves.

Looking Ahead: Lifelong Learning

If the nation wants more trained talent, it is ours for the effort—and for the commitment of additional resources. It could happen, as some have proposed, through a new GI Bill in exchange for public or community service.[17] It could occur as part of a universal lifetime entitlement for education or training.[18] It could result from larger funding of existing strategies: student financial aid, the JTPA, community colleges, postsecondary vocational-technical education, and the public school-based adult education system, for example. Whatever the mechanism, there is every reason to believe this nation can succeed in developing its human resources through advanced education and training—*if it sets its collective mind to the task.*

The Commission has already recommended the development of *a comprehensive system of lifelong learning, for youth and for learners of all ages,* to replace the current collection of unsystematic and inequitable arrangements. Some possible elements of such a strategy are discussed in our Interim Report (Chapter 6: Equal Access to Lifelong Learning). There we recognized the need to know more before we can make an effective system of lifelong learning a reality. We, therefore, repeat our earlier call:

the Commission urges that 1) policymakers and community leaders recognize that existing student financial aid programs and institutional structures fail to serve non-college youth equitably and, thereby, shortchange half our population; and that 2) as a first step, philanthropic foundations should fund a thorough and thoughtful inquiry into the question of how the United States can achieve a comprehensive, effective, and equitable system of lifelong learning for all our citizens.

The public sector also has a vital role to play. A next step in a concerted effort to explore thoroughly how such a vastly expanded system of learning can be made available to all Americans would be a practical pilot demonstration designed to provide such opportunities to targeted portions of the Forgotten Half.

Fair Chance: Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act

To stimulate the development of integrated systems for serving the education and training needs of all young

people, both college-bound and non-college youth, and to convey an explicit message of hope and opportunity to members of the Forgotten Half, the Commission proposes* Fair Chance: Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act.** ***Our recommendation is for a state-administered national demonstration designed to increase access to education and training opportunities, through the provision of financial aid, counseling, and academic support programs for out-of-school youth living in targeted Demonstration Act areas.

With first-year outlays totalling $250 million (preferably funded jointly by the US Departments of Labor and Education), Fair Chance could be tested, with many creative variations, at a cost of $2-7 million per state. The grants should be continued for at least four additional years, at approximately the same annual cost, with a major evaluation component built into each grant beginning with year one. Fair Chance funds would supplement existing and, hopefully, increased funding for other federal programs serving the needs of the Forgotten Half.

The purpose of Fair Chance would be to answer two key questions: If adequate financial aid, counseling, and academic support services were made more nearly *universal*, at least for youth living in designated geographic Demonstration Act areas, (1) Would increased enrollment, retention, and completion result? and, (2) Would current programs be sufficient in number, variety, and quality to meet the rising demand? Our hypothesis is that improved access *would* result in greater rates of high school completion and greater use of post-high school education and training capacity. In that event, society should expand its commitment to guarantee post-high school opportunities beyond the limits of this demonstration, providing additional federal, as well as state, local, and private funds.

Fair Chance would build upon the universalistic models of the GI Bill, and the recent growth of community-based organizations offering high school completion, second-chance, and alternative pathway programs. These include, for example, the I Have A Dream Foundations, the Boston Compact, and the newly-launched California Compact. It would *guarantee funds and support services for education and training to every youth in demonstration grant target areas who has the ability to profit from further study or combinations of work and study.* The demonstration would offer financial incentives to potential state and local grantees to consider how they would incorporate the key program elements outlined above in their own coordinated community initiative. Specifically, applicants for a grant should be asked to provide:

- a means of saturating target neighborhoods by ***guaranteeing access to appropriate education and training opportunities to all youth residing in a given demonstration area.*** Target areas might include, for example, communities in transition from reliance on heavy manufacturing, low-income inner-city neighborhoods, depressed rural areas, and areas with above-average concentrations of limited English language proficiency residents. With such a guarantee, no youth living in the target area could fall through the cracks for lack of information, support services, or financial aid. (Despite the guarantee, youth would still have to meet the respective academic and ability criteria of the education and training programs they seek to enter. Fair Chance's guarantee would assure that, having met such criteria, financial need would not present any barrier);
- ***outreach, recruitment, and motivational mechanisms*** to encourage youth to pursue either employment training, including academic remediation, if needed, or postsecondary education, including vocational and technical as well as college education (or some combination of the two). These must be coupled with essential support services to make a successful transition from studies to work. As the student leaves high school, he or she should be counseled to avoid plans that are either too vague or dead-end;
- ***a case management system*** to assure each student a well-trained and committed professional mentor to turn to for help who offers continuous assessment, counseling, placement, follow-up, and advocacy assistance to all enrolled students;
- ***a cooperative agreement*** among youth-serving organizations and public and private agencies designed ***to ensure coordination,*** pool resources, avoid duplication, and tap the energies of volunteers in the community, including students of all ages;
- thorough, ***independent evaluation*** of the various approaches taken to measure their respective ***outcomes*** on such measurable indices as academic retention, course completion, high

school graduation, avoidance of anti-social and self-destructive behavior, subsequent employment, continued pursuit of advanced education and training, admission into four-year colleges and universities or the armed forces, and similar measures. In addition, evaluations should seek evidence about the efficiency with which the several sources of funding have been coordinated in target areas.

The federal government would not hold applicants for the Fair Chance Demonstration Grants to a single set of standards or outcome measures. Nor should success rates be calculated on the basis of a single "performance measure" that promotes the "creaming" so common to many programs serving at-risk populations. Rather, *we suggest that a baseline set of outcomes composed of several measures be established by each awardee of a demonstration grant. In this way, awardees will not be able to claim success based simply on improvement in one, among several, outcome measures, but should be able to show quantifiable progress along a number of important dimensions.*

To provide true universality of coverage and equality of access, every Demonstration Act grantee's program would be broad enough to support **any or all** of the following:

1. studies, in both two- and four-year colleges leading to a baccalaureate or associate degree;

2. vocational-technical or career training leading to a certificate or diploma; and

3. skills training, academic remediation, and counseling and support services designed primarily for the unemployed or underemployed, with gainful employment as the major objective of all the training offered.

The essential purpose of the demonstration is to encourage strategies that equalize opportunity between the college-bound youth and those who, while needing more education and training, do not wish, or are unable, to enroll in collegiate-level programs. It would couple essential student financial assistance with the kind of support services, especially counseling and mentorship, that are no less essential to success in education and training. And, perhaps most important, it would send an *explicit message of hope* to members of the Forgotten Half that they now have a genuine opportunity to acquire new skills, as well as a second chance to earn a high school diploma or GED.

To foster the cooperation and coalition-building across institutions that we have repeatedly recommended in our reports, Fair Chance grants should be awarded only to consortia. For example, eligible grantees might be consortia composed of local government agencies, the public schools, postsecondary and vocational-technical education institutions, private industry councils, community-based organizations, youth-serving agencies, county and regional economic development authorities, and other public and nonprofit agencies. The exact membership of each consortium, as well as the geographic area to be served, should be left to state and local discretion. *The important thing is that each consortium member be competent to motivate, prepare, and assist youth to enter and succeed in post-high school education and employment training.*

In any consideration of service providers for the kinds of education and training that could benefit the Forgotten Half, one naturally thinks of colleges and universities, vocational schools, technical institutes, and, quintessentially, community colleges—a unique American invention. No other country has created so diverse, flexible, and open a system of post-high school studies, catering to so wide a range of interests, career aspirations, and learning styles as our own. We expect that these institutions will, in fact, offer the bulk of the education and training programs under the proposed Fair Chance: Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act.

However, *state and local consortia could also make use of the resources, expertise, and commitment of the newer service providers who together comprise the second- or added-chance system: youth conservation and service corps, the Job Corps, apprenticeship programs, and community-based organizations which provide literacy and remedial education, for example. We would also hope that some especially innovative consortia might figure out ways to tap into the expert resources of corporate America's $40-100 billion annual education and training budget.*[19] In short, we see no reason why participating consortia should exclude *any* service provider with a demonstrated record of effective remediation, pre-employment, or academic training.

Fair Chance funds should be made available for a broad and flexible array of uses: for broadened student financial aid; for instructional and support services; for outreach efforts to inform target area residents of the program's guarantees and options; for support of training slots in, for

example, conservation corps, Job Corps, or other employment and job readiness training. ***The important point is to assure that each demonstration is able to mount a coordinated and comprehensive program that meets the broadest possible range of youth's interests and needs and, simultaneously, mobilizes the diverse competencies of education and training providers in its geographic area.***

State governors would recommend a single application for a demonstration grant in their state after receiving the counsel of their cabinet officers for employment and training, education, and social services. States that already have programs designed to integrate services and increase access should be encouraged to compete for Demonstration Act grants to strengthen, enhance, expand, and evaluate their existing programs to non-college-bound youth. For example, an existing state youth corps or scholarship program could be enhanced under this proposed program if linked to other education and training endeavors on behalf of youth.

In considering applications for these demonstration grants, every effort should be made to encourage a diversity of approaches to achieve the Act's common goal: ensuring to all youth in a given target area access to a comprehensive range of education and training opportunities, from remedial education to higher education, including basic skills enhancement, assistance in obtaining the high school equivalency certificate, counseling, and other essential support services.

Forerunners: State Programs to Expand Opportunity

An existing program that promises to expand educational opportunities is Michigan's Tuition Incentive Program (TIP). TIP does not meet our proposed objective of providing for *both* collegiate and non-collegiate education and employment training, but it is an important step in the right direction. For students graduating from high school beginning in the summer of 1988, Michigan's Department of Social Services provides a credit good for two years of free tuition and fees at any Michigan community college to high school graduates under age 20 from specified low-income families. As an accompanying support, Medicaid benefits are continued past age 18 for former AFDC recipients who do not have comparable medical coverage from other sources. Moreover, if the students satisfactorily complete their community college program within two and one-half years, they receive an additional $2,000 credit for tuition at any state four-year college or university.

Michigan's TIP program also rewards good work records of some youth who enter the labor market directly after high school graduation. AFDC recipients who graduate from high school by age 20, find full-time employment (35 or more hours per week) within one year, and retain that employment for two years receive a $1,000 bonus. Former AFDC recipients who do not secure health insurance from their employer continue to receive Medicaid coverage from the state.[20]

New York State's newly enacted Liberty Scholarships is another effort to guarantee the state's low-income students that college is within their financial reach. Under a stripped-down version of a January 1988 proposal by Governor Mario M. Cuomo, the legislature approved approximately $70 million to cover non-tuition expenses such as room, board, transportation, and books. Existing state tuition assistance grants were also increased to compensate for rising costs, along with additional funding for dropout prevention programs. Taken together, these measures are intended to guarantee college access to all students with family income under $18,000 and to provide partial assistance to families earning up to $26,000.[21]

Other key aspects of Governor Cuomo's original proposal failed of enactment, specifically new programs to combat the dropout problem through massive academic and counseling intervention in the seventh grade or earlier, that would have assured available encouragement to every young person early enough in the student's life to raise both hope and aspirations.

Commenting on the passage of the new Liberty Scholarships, a *Washington Post* editorial queried: "Is it mainly the money that makes the difference, or the counseling? Do kids drop out because they can't afford college—or because they simply can't imagine it?" No one can answer the *Post* with certainty, but most persons who have worked with at-risk youth believe that *both* are essential. That is the first lesson learned from the promising experiences of the dozens of I Have A Dream Foundations, inspired by New York City philanthropist Eugene Lang, now spreading across the country. And that is the premise of our recommended Fair Chance Demonstration Act.[22]

Michigan's Tuition Incentive Program and Governor Cuomo's Liberty Scholarships are *partial* moves in the right direction. *We would like to see more states enact educational guarantees, but include* **both**

non-collegiate education and training and essential support services along with college-level opportunities.

What we urge in Fair Chance is a nationwide demonstration of the complete range of measures coupling guarantees of higher education with guarantees for young people to obtain the counseling and support services and the remedial and vocational-technical education necessary to find good jobs in America's rapidly changing employment market or, later in life, to move on to college. Such a combination of sound employment training with higher education would *give new hope and genuine opportunity to all of America's youth.* Therefore, a large national demonstration to discover new ways to expand opportunities for the Forgotten Half, like the **Fair Chance: Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act** proposed here, should be a high priority of the 41st President of the United States.

New Investment in Youth, America's Future

We call for a new investment in youth and in America's future. Expanded efforts to counsel and encourage potentially able young people, *of all income and attainment levels*, to consider college and other postsecondary education opportunities as a realistic and attainable goal should begin in middle school or earlier. These efforts should be followed up with guidance, enrichment courses, and skills and study habits training to ensure postsecondary education entry, retention, and graduation. There should be no limit to the number or proportion of young people who can successfully pursue employment training or courses in vocational-technical education, paraprofessional, or academic and professional studies.

There is nothing immutable about membership in the Forgotten Half. By greatly expanding student financial aid programs and the many types of tested programs that help young people prepare for and succeed in postsecondary education and in remedial and employment training programs, we can move a long way toward helping both individuals and the nation become productive and more prosperous. As a nation, we have traveled far on this road. There is no barrier, short of our own lack of commitment and resolve, that prevents us from attaining the goal of equal educational opportunity.

PATHWAYS TO SUCCESS:

Recommendations

Students who plan to continue their formal education directly after high school routinely receive counseling to help them select and gain admission to college, as well as several years of financial aid. Neither is widely available to young people who either prefer, or need, other forms of education and training, including alternative opportunities to complete a high school degree. Without more directed guidance and support services, young people in the Forgotten Half will not have access to the knowledge and skills that will help them meet their full potential as workers, parents, and citizens. Therefore, we recommend:

• A state-administered, federally-funded national demonstration program, Fair Chance: Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act, designed to increase access to education and training opportunities through the provision of financial aid, counseling, and academic support programs for out-of-school youth living in targeted Demonstration Act areas. (pp. 135–136)

• Applicants for grants would be limited to public and non-profit consortia with demonstrated ability to "saturate" a given target area through specific outreach and motivational mechanisms, a case management system, cooperative arrangements with service providers, and the capacity to provide an independent evaluation. (p. 136)

• Funded programs would establish a baseline set of outcomes composed of several performance measures and support a broad range of education and training opportunities, including undergraduate collegiate study, vocational or career training leading to a certificate or diploma, as well as training, academic remediation, and counseling and support services primarily for school dropouts, the unemployed, and the underemployed. (p. 138)

Chapter 8

Making It Happen: Increased Investments in Success

This Final Report, together with our Interim Report of January 1988, completes an immense task: to learn what existing research and experimentation can tell us about young people and to translate this knowledge into recommendations that will enhance youth's promise and support their growth to mature and participatory adult citizens.

By themselves, these reports, and their accompanying information and working papers,* will accomplish little. Their greater purpose is not only to add to an understanding of America's young people but to set an agenda for action . . . and to capture the attention of citizens and leaders throughout America for constructive social change.

Both reports underscore several conclusions that our Commission unanimously believes must be more widely understood by the American public:

- *There is evidence to question today's tendency to see youth mainly as problems to be solved, rather than as assets to be developed and helped to grow.* We Americans can help ourselves and improve our nation's future by thinking more positively about young people than we currently do. Recognizing that young people have talents, and encouraging their use in behalf of their communities, will help more young people succeed as workers, parents, and citizens.
- There is evidence that, by any fair measure, *we invest much more heavily in the future of college-bound youth than we do in those seeking work after high school.* There are promising initiatives available for this Forgotten Half of our youth—initiatives requiring attention from private sources, as well as from government at the local, state, and national levels.
- *The family's capacity to serve youth adequately has been eroded by significant changes in the economy and shifts in the way Americans live and work.* To help families adapt successfully to these changes, including the impact of growing poverty and major shifts in the job market, we must adopt more responsive community services, employment policies, and educational practices.
- *We know enough from research, experience, and vigorous evaluation of successful initiatives on behalf of children and youth to justify major additional public and private*

* See our publications list at the conclusion of this report.

Americans are coming together on these issues because we want to preserve the American dream. And we know that it cannot be done if we continue to behave as a swarm of isolated individuals oblivious to the pain and the untapped potential of our fellow citizens.[1]

Our problems are complex, but they can be solved. We cannot afford not to solve them. Our very survival as a nation of compassion, creativity and strength depend on it.[2]

We must rekindle in the United States the expectation that our children. . .all of our children. . .will do well.[3]

— **Governors Bill Clinton,[1] Michael Castle,[2] Rudy Perpich[3] in Bringing Down the Barriers: Making America Work; Productive People, Productive Policies** (1987)

investments. These investments will reap even higher rates of return if they focus upon the needs of the Forgotten Half of young Americans described in our study.

Some of our major recommendations require additional long-term investments by all levels of government. Others are directed at employers, nonprofit organizations, and private philanthropy.

Two of our proposals call for additional or new expenditures by the federal government. Both focus on the Forgotten Half and will close glaring gaps in important needs of that group.

The first investment (described in detail on pages 73 to 78 of our Interim Report) calls for $5 billion additional federal dollars annually for each of the next ten years to bolster the effectiveness and coverage of programs that have been proved to enhance young people's success in life. We repeat an illustration of what such an investment could buy for America's children and youth (see following page).

WHAT AN ADDITIONAL INVESTMENT OF $5 BILLION COULD BUY FOR AMERICA'S CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Head Start - Now serves 450,000 children with a federal budget of $1.13 billion. About 81 percent of all eligible 3-5 year olds remain unserved. At current costs, service to all eligible children would require an additional $4.75 billion annually.

Adding $1.5 billion to Head Start's budget would serve an *additional 600,000 children*. (With appropriate legislation, these funds might also be used to stimulate more states to begin prekindergarten and early learning programs and to expand the availability of quality, affordable day care, particularly for the children of low-income working parents.)

Chapter 1 - Now serves approximately 5 million children with a federal budget of $3.94 billion. About half of all students requiring remedial programs remain unserved. Moreover, many existing programs are insufficiently intensive, and few continue services to high school youth needing them.

Adding $1.5 billion to Chapter 1's budget would serve up to an *additional 2,500,000 students* (at average cost of $600 per student) and permit expansion into high schools. Additional funding could support added anti-dropout programs and expansion of efforts like STEP (Summer Training and Employment Program).

Job Corps - Now provides 40,500 full-year training "slots" or service years at a cost averaging $15,800 per full year. Total federal budget is $656 million.

Adding $300 million to the Job Corps could support *30-50 new Centers* and provide almost *19,000 additional full person-years of training*.

Job Training Partnership Act - 463,000 youth 21-years-old or younger were served under Title IIA during the last reported program year, and 348,000 completed their training program at a cost of $636 million. (Experts estimate that JTPA now serves only five percent of the eligible youth population.)

Adding $1.5 billion to JTPA would provide service to up to *500,000 additional youth* in need of assistance. (Additional funds should be concentrated on youth with the most severe deficits, rather than those easiest to employ.)

Providing More School-to-Work Options

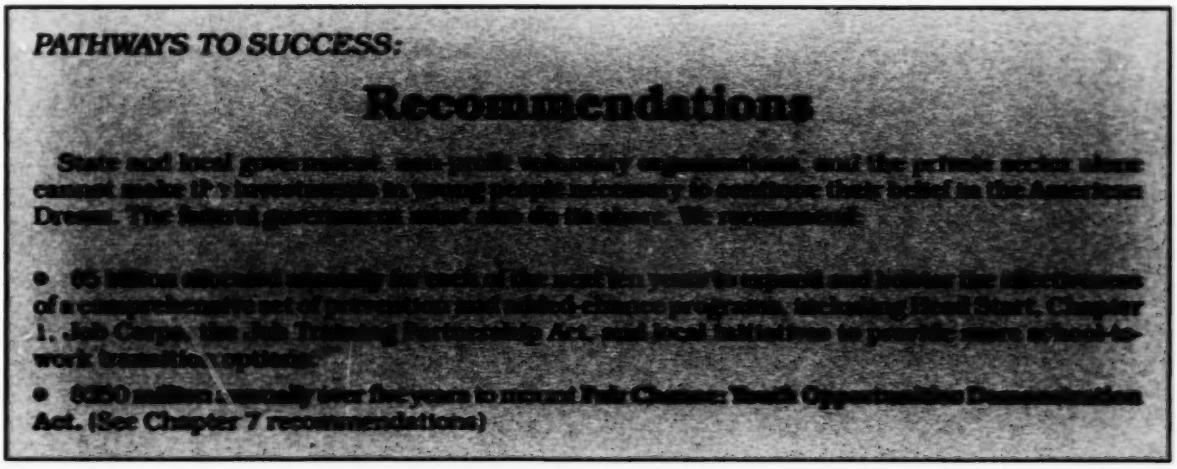
A fund of $200 million would enable states and localities to expand a number of youth initiatives which this Commission believes ought to be more widely available, for example, youth community and neighborhood service, cooperative education, high school work-study, apprenticeship, youth-operated enterprises, improved career counseling, etc. These funds would serve not only at-risk students but all who could benefit from an enriched curriculum supplemented by a variety of community and employer-based resources.

The second recommended investment at the federal level (described in Chapter 7 of this report) is for **Fair Chance: Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act**. It would mount a comprehensive demonstration in each state and territory of the nation to guarantee needed services for youth who seek additional education and training after high school. We suggest that Fair Chance's state-planned and state-monitored efforts be carefully evaluated, so that the aspects of the demonstration act that work well can be expanded to the entire state five to ten years from now. *Federal guarantees of support for college-bound youth already exist. A fair chance for non-college youth does not. We believe both make sense and are essential to America's future.*

• • •

We have called neither for massive new spending nor for a raft of new programs. Nor have we proposed to send the entire bill to Uncle Sam in Washington. As far into the future as any of us can see, the vast bulk of funds for the development of America's young must come from state, local, and private coffers. All that we seek from the federal government is its fair share.

If we are serious about helping our young to help themselves and, in the process, to build a stronger America, we shall have to invest in them some of the wealth that previous generations of Americans have created. Whether that additional investment comes about through a general revenue increase, through reordering of domestic and military spending priorities, or through new forms of taxation (like an income-tax surcharge or a special trust fund dedicated to children and youth), is not the central issue. What matters is that we keep faith with our young people and, through our investments in them and our nation's future, keep alive the American Dream. We recommend that goal to all who are entrusted with the responsibilities of leadership.



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Alternative Human Services, Inc.
P.O. Box 13087
St. Petersburg, FL 33733
(813) 526-1100

American Bar Association
Standing Committee on Dispute Resolution
1800 M St., NW
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 331-2258

American Public Welfare Association
1125 15th St., NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 293-7550

American Society for Training and Development
1630 Duke St. Box 1443
Alexandria, VA 22313
(703) 683-8150

American Youth Work Center
1751 N St., NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 785-0764

Association for Experiential Education
CU Box 249
Boulder, CO 80309
(303) 492-1547

Association of American Colleges
1818 R St., NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 387-3760

Aunt Martha's Youth Service Center
224 Blackhawk
Park Forest, IL 60466
(312) 747-2701

Avance
301 South Frio St.
San Antonio, TX 78207
(512) 270-4630

Bank Street College of Education
610 W. 112th St.
New York, NY 10025
(212) 663-7200

Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America
230 N. 13th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19107
(215) 567-7000

Boston Compact
Boston School Committee
26 Court St.
Boston, MA 02108
(617) 726-6200 Ext. 5313

Boston Plan for Excellence
60 State St.
6th Floor
Boston, MA 02109
(617) 723-7489

Boy Scouts of America
1325 Walnut Hill Lane
Irving, TX 75062-1296
(214) 580-2000

Boys Clubs of America
National Headquarters
771 First Ave.
New York, NY 10017
(212) 351-5900

Boys and Girls Clubs of Greater Washington
Eastern Branch
261 17th St., SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 543-3887

California Compact
Office of Intersegmental Relations
721 Capitol Mall
6th Floor
P.O. Box 944272
Sacramento, CA 94244-2720
(916) 323-6262

Camp Fire
4601 Madison Ave.
Kansas City, MO 64112
(816) 756-1950

Campus Compact
Box 1975
Brown University
Providence, RI 02912
(401) 863-1119

Campus Outreach Opportunity League
386 McNeal Hall
University of Minnesota
St. Paul, MN 55708
(612) 624-3018

Career Beginnings
Center for Human Resources
Heller Graduate School
Brandeis University
Waltham, MA 02254
(617) 736-3770

Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development
11 Dupont Circle, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 265-9080

Center for Dispute Settlement
918 16th St., NW
Suite 503
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 296-2565

Center for Early Adolescence
University of North Carolina At Chapel Hill
Suite 223
Carr Mill Mall
Carrboro, NC 27510
(919) 966-1148

Center for the Social Organization of Schools
Johns Hopkins University
3505 North Charles St.
Baltimore, MD 21218
(301) 338-7570

Center for Youth Development and Research
University of Minnesota
386 McNeal Hall
1985 Buford Ave.
St. Paul, MN 55108
(612) 624-2719

Center 54
Junior High 54
107th St. and Columbus Ave.
New York, NY 10625
(212) 866-5554

Center for Public Advocacy Research
12 West 37th St.
New York, NY 10018
(212) 564-9220

Center for Community Change
1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20007
(202) 342-0519

Center for Successful Child Development
Robert Taylor Homes
4848 South State St.
Chicago, IL 60609
(312) 373-8680

Chapin Hall Center for Children
University of Chicago
1155 E. 60th St.
Chicago, IL 60637
(312) 702-1015

Child Welfare League of America
440 First St., NW
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 638-2952

City Children: 2007 Minneapolis Youth Coordinating Board
Rm. 202
City Hall
Minneapolis, MN 55415
(612) 348-6995

Children's Agenda
155 Cottage St., NE
Salem OR 97310
(503) 373-7036

Children's Defense Fund
122 C St., NW
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 628-8787

Cities in Schools
1023 15th St., NW
Suite 600
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 861-0230

City Volunteer Corps
842 Broadway
New York, NY 10003
(212) 475-6444

Cleveland Initiative for Education
Cleveland Board of Education
Scholarship in Escrow Program
Room 312
1380 E. 6th St.
Cleveland, OH 44114
(216) 781-7430

Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education
National Research Council
2101 Constitution Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20418
(202) 334-2200

Committee for Economic Development
477 Madison Ave.
New York, NY 10022
(212) 688-2063

Community Leadership Seminar
530 Walnut St.
14th Floor
Philadelphia, PA 19106
(215) 928-9999

Community Boards of San Francisco
149 9th St.
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 552-1250

Congress of National Black Churches
1025 Connecticut Ave., NW
Suite 712
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 457-0234

Constitutional Rights Foundation
601 S. Kingsley Dr.
Los Angeles, CA 90005
(213) 487-5590

Council for Liberal Learning of the Association of American Colleges
1818 R St., NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 387-3760

Council of Educational Opportunity Associations
Suite 310
1025 Vermont Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 347-7430

Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund
2212 6th St.
Berkeley, CA 94710
(415) 644-2555

Dorchester Youth Collaborative
1514-A Dorchester Ave.
Dorchester, MA 02122
(617) 285-1748

Education Commission of the States
1860 Lincoln St.
Suite 300
Denver, CO 80295
(303) 830-3600

Education Writers Association
1001 Connecticut Ave., NW
Suite 310
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 429-9680

Facing History and Ourselves Foundation
25 Kennard Road
Brookline, MA 02046
(617) 232-1595

Family Service America
11700 West Lake Park Dr.
Milwaukee, WI 53224
(414) 359-2111

Family Learning Center
Leslie Public Schools
400 Kimball St.
Leslie, MI 49251
(517) 589-9102

Family Impact Seminar
1717 K St., NW
Suite 407
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 429-1825

Family Policy Panel
Economic Policy Council
United Nations Association of the USA
300 East 42nd St.
New York, NY 10017
(212) 697-3232

Ford Foundation
320 E. 43rd St.
New York, NY 10017
(212) 573-5000

Foundation for Child Development
345 E. 46th St.
Suite 700
New York, NY 10017
(212) 697-3150

4-H Extension Service
US Department of Agriculture
14th and Independence Ave., NW
Rm 3860 South Building
Washington, DC 20250-0900
(202) 447-6527

Future Homemakers of America
1910 Association Dr.
Reston, VA 22091
(703) 476-4900

Girl Scouts of the USA
830 Third Ave.
New York, NY 10022
(212) 940-7500

Girls Clubs of America
205 Lexington Ave.
New York, NY 10016
(212) 689-3700

Girls Clubs of America
National Resource Center
441 West Michigan St.
Indianapolis, IN 46202
(317) 634-7546

Home and School Institute
1201 16th St., NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 466-3633

Homebuilders
1717 S. 341st Pl.
Federal Way
Tacoma, WA 98003
(206) 927-1550

Human Environment Center
810 18th St., NW
Suite 507
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 393-5550

I Have A Dream Foundation
31 W. 34th St.
New York, NY 10001
(212) 736-1730

Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority
120 South Riverside Plaza
Chicago, IL 60606-3397
(312) 793-8550

Independent Sector
1828 L St., NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 223-8100

Independent Living Program and College Options Program
1454 Corcoran St., NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 675-9875

Indian Youth Leadership Project
Box 96
Pine Hill, NM 87357
(505) 775-3366

Indiana Youth as Resources Demonstration
Lilly Endowment
2801 North Meridian St.
Indianapolis, IN
(317) 924-5471

Institute for American Values
250 W. 57th St.
New York, NY 10107
(212) 246-3942

Institute for Responsive Education
605 Commonwealth Ave.
Boston, MA 02215
(617) 353-3309

John Macy Leadership Seminar
Montgomery County Council
Council Office Building
Rockville, MD 20850
(301) 217-7900

Juvenile Welfare Board
4140 49th St.
St. Petersburg, FL 33709
(813) 521-1853

KidsPlace St. Louis
911 Washington Ave.
St. Louis, MO 63101
(314) 421-4220

KidsPlace Seattle
816 Fourth Ave. North
Seattle, WA 98104
(206) 281-6226

Latin American Youth Center
3045 15th St., NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 483-1140

Latino Youth, Inc.
2200 S. Marshall St.
Chicago, IL 60623
(312) 277-0400

Leadership America
1600 Two Turtle Creek Center
Dallas, TX 75219
(214) 526-2953

Lefko and Associates
1528 Grantham
St. Paul, MN 55108
(612) 645-4944

Learning Disabled News
Long Island University
University Plaza
Brooklyn, NY 11201
(715) 403-1020

Liberty Scholarships
NY Higher Education Services Corporation
Albany, NY 12255
(518) 473-1574

Local Initiatives Support Corporation
666 Third Ave.
New York, NY 10017
(212) 949-8560

Los Angeles Roundtable for Children
School of Social Work
University of Southern California
Montgomery-Ross-Fisher Bldg.
University Park MC 0411
Los Angeles, CA 90089-0411
(213) 734-2711

Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation
Three Park Ave.
New York, NY 10016
(212) 532-3200

Minnesota Governor's Scholars Program
1528 Grantham
St. Paul, MN 55108
(612) 645-4944

National Alliance for Business
1015 15th St., NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 457-0040

National Association of Community Leadership Organizations
1454 Duke St.
Alexandria, VA 22314
(703) 836-7904

National Association of Mediation in Education
127 Hasbrouck
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003
(413) 545-2462

National Association of Service and Conservation Corps
810 18th St., NW
Suite 507
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 393-5550

National Association of State Boards of Education
1012 Cameron St.
Alexandria, VA 22314
(703) 684-4000

National Black Women's Health Project
1237 Gordon St., SW
Atlanta, GA 30310
(404) 753-0916

National Center for Youth Law
1663 Mission St.
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 543-3307

National Center on Education and the Economy
39 State St., Suite 500
Rochester, NY 14614
(716) 546-7620

National Center on Education and Employment
Teachers College
Box 174
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027
(212) 678-3091

National Collaboration for Youth
1319 F St., NW
Suite 301
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 347-2080

National Committee for Citizens in Education
10840 Little Patuxent Parkway
Suite 301
Columbia, MD 21044
(301) 997-9300

National Crime Prevention Council
733 15th St., NW
Suite 540
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 393-7141

National Council of Educational Opportunity Associations
Suite 310
1025 Vermont Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 347-7430

National Equipment Service
Girl Scouts USA
830 Third Ave.
New York, NY 10022

National Forum on the Future of Children and Their Families
National Research Council
2101 Constitution Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20418
(202) 334-3033

National Governors Association
444 N. Capitol St., NW
Suite 250
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 624-5300

National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law
25 E St., NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 662-9620

National Institute for Dispute Resolution
1901 L St., NW
Suite 600
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 466-4764

National Institute for Work and Learning
Academy for Educational Development
1255 23rd St., NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20037
(202) 862-8845

National League of Cities
1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 626-3000

National Network of Runaway and Youth Services
905 6th St., SW
#411B
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 488-0739

National Resource Center for Foster and Residential Care
1430 W. Peachtree St.
Suite 510
Atlanta, GA 30309
(404) 876-1934

National School Volunteer Program
601 Wythe St., Suite 200
Alexandria, VA 22314
(703) 836-4880

National Service Secretariat
5140 Sherrier Pl., NW
Washington, DC 20016
(202) 244-5828

National Society for Internships and Experiential Education
3509 Haworth Dr.
Suite 207
Raleigh, NC 27609
(919) 787-3263

National Youth Leadership Council
386 McNeal Hall
University of Minnesota
St. Paul, MN 55108
(612) 624-2719

Natural Helpers
Orange County Planned Parenthood
Kroger Plaza
Chapel Hill, NC 27514
(919) 929-5402

New Concept Self Development Center
636 W. Kneeland St.
Milwaukee, WI 53212
(414) 271-7496

Network, Inc.
290 South Main St.
Andover, MA 01810
(617) 470-1080

Networking Project for Disabled Women and Girls
YWCA of New York
610 Lexington Ave.
New York, NY 10022
(212) 755-4500

New York Women's Foundation
34 E. 70th St.
New York, NY 10021
(212) 620-6702

Northwest Iowa Mental Health Center
201 E. 11th St.
Spencer, IA 51301
(712) 262-2922

Oasis Center Independent Living Program
1219 16th Ave. S.
PO Box 121648
Nashville, TN 37212
(615) 327-4455

Oregon Youth Coordinating Council
Oregon Department of Education
700 Pringle, SE
Salem, OR 97310
(503) 378-3569

Orita Mentoring Project
Union Temple Baptist Church
2002 14th St., NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 889-1888

Outward Bound USA
384 Field Point Road
Greenwich, CT 06830
(800) 243-8520

Parent Aide Support Service
Nebraska Department of Social Services
1001 O St.
Lincoln, NE 68508
(402) 471-7000

Parents as Teachers
Marillac Hall
University of Missouri-St. Louis
8001 Natural Bridge Road
St. Louis, MO
(314) 553-5738

Public Education Fund Network
600 Grant St.
Pittsburgh, PA 15219
(412) 391-3235

Public/Private Ventures
399 Market St.
Philadelphia, PA 19106
(215) 592-9099

Rural Education and Action Learning
Small Business and Technology Development Center
820 Clay St.
Raleigh, NC 27605
(919) 733-4643

Sasha Bruce Youthwork
1022 Maryland Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 328-3052

Search Institute
122 West Franklin St.
Minneapolis, MN 55404
(612) 870-9511

70001 Employment and Training Institute
600 Maryland Ave., SW
West Wing, Suite 300
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 484-0103

Shelby County Culture of Poverty Think Tank
160 N. Mid-America Mall
Suite 660
Memphis, TN 38103
(901) 576-4500

Southwest Educational Development Laboratory
211 East 7th St.
Austin, TX 78701
(512) 476-6861

Square One Career Start
1226 E. Edinger Ave.
Santa Ana, CA 92707
(714) 973-9292

Step to College
Mission High School
3750 18th St.
San Francisco, CA 94114
(415) 552-5800

Student Mentor Program
351 W. 18th St., Room 236
New York, NY 10011
(212) 645-4141

Teen Alternative Parenting Program
Child Support Division
143 E. Market St.
Indianapolis, IN 46204
(317) 263-6100

Tuition Incentive Program (TIP)
P.O. Box 30037
Lansing, MI 48909

United Negro College Fund
500 East 62nd St.
New York, NY 10021
(212) 644-9600

Urban Adventures
351 West 25th St.
New York, NY 10001
(212) 989-7828

Urban Institute
2100 M St., NW
Washington, DC 20032
(202) 857-8724

Vera Institute of Justice
377 Broadway
New York, NY 10013
(212) 334-1300

VISTA/Service Learning Programs
806 Connecticut Ave., NW
Rm 1000
Washington, DC 20525
(202) 289-6444

Work and Family Information Center
The Conference Board
845 3rd Ave.
New York, NY 10022
(212) 759-0900

Work-Scholarship Program
Rochester City School District
131 W. Broad St.
Rochester, NY 14608
(716) 325-4560

YMCA of the USA
101 N. Wacker Dr.
Chicago, IL 60606
(312) 269-0538

Young Adult Institute
460 W. 34th St.
New York, NY 10001
(212) 563-7474

Youth Action Program
1280 Fifth Ave.
New York, NY 10029
(212) 860-8170

Youth As Resources of Southwestern Indiana
405 Carpenter St.
Evansville, IN 47708
(812) 428-7593

Youth Community Service
Council of Chief State School Officers
369 Hall of the States
400 N. Capitol St., NW
Washington, DC 20001
(202) 393-8159

Youth Liaison Citizen Program
1345 South Burlington Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90006
(213) 384-5184

Youth Policy Institute
1221 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 638-2144

Youth Service America
Suite 900
1319 F St., NW
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 783-8855

YWCA of the USA
726 Broadway
New York, NY 10003
(212) 614-2700

Notes

The following abbreviations are used throughout this section of reference notes:

YAF = Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship

USGPO = United States Government Printing Office

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1: THE DECLINING ECONOMIC STATUS OF YOUTH AND YOUNG FAMILIES

1. Unless otherwise noted, statistics in this section are contained in Andrew Sum, Neal Fogg, and Robert Taggart. *Withered Dreams: The Decline in the Economic Fortunes of Young, Non-College Educated Male Adults and Their Families*, a paper prepared for YAF, 1988; Children's Defense Fund and Center for Labor Market Studies, Northeastern University. *Vanishing Dreams: The Growing Economic Plight of America's Young Families*. Washington, DC: 1988. Copies of *Vanishing Dreams* may be purchased from Children's Defense Fund (122 C Street, NW, Washington, DC 20001) or from YAF (Suite 301, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036) at $7.95 postpaid.
2. Service Employees International Union. *The Service Economy: Portrait of a New Workforce*. Washington, DC: January 1988, p. 5.
3. See especially Frank Levy. *Dollars and Dreams: The Changing American Income Distribution*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1987.
4. William C. Apgar, Jr. and H. James Brown. *The State of the Nation's Housing, 1988*. Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, 1988, p. 7, compare different years than the Center for Labor Market Studies at Northeastern University—1974 and 1987—and find a decline of 28.7 present; $18,248 vs. $13,011. After-tax inequalities among different age groups were probably larger due to the regressiveness of Americans' total tax package, including social security.
5. See, for example, A. Gary Shilling and Company's analyses (111 Broadway, New York, NY 10005) of March 22, 1988: "Demographics and Household Income: How Much More Poverty Ahead?" and "The Squeeze on American Incomes—Profound, But Little Recognized."
6. Berlin and Sum. *Toward A More Perfect Union: Basic Skills, Poor Families, and Our Economic Future*. New York: Ford Foundation, 1988; Clifford Johnson and Andrew Sum. *Declining Earnings of Young Men: Their Relation to Poverty, Teen Pregnancy and Family Formation*. Washington, DC: Children's Defense Fund, 1987.
7. See our Interim Report, pp. 30-31, for the strong correlations between low levels of basic academic skills and many social dysfunctions. Also, see the last section of Chapter 6 of this report on the "Truly Disadvantaged."
8. Joseph Minarik. *Challenge to Leadership: Economic and Social Issues for the Next Decade*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1988.
9. Roberta M. Spalter-Roth and Heidi I. Hartmann. *Unnecessary Losses: Costs to Americans of the Lack of Family and Medical Leave*. Executive Summary. Washington, DC: Institute for Women's Policy Research, 1988.
10. US Bureau of the Census. *Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1982*. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 144. Washington, DC: USGPO, 1984.
11. 10 to 10.6 marriages per 1000 persons since 1970; National Center for Health Statistics, US Department of Health and Human Services, cited in *The World Almanac, 1988* New York: Scripps-Howard, 1988, p. 809.
12. *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980. See also Richard Easterlin. *Birth and Fortune: The Impact of Numbers on Personal Welfare*. New York: Basic Books, 1980.
13. William Julius Wilson. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987. It is noteworthy that, while homicide is the second leading cause of death for all 15-24-year-olds, it is the leading cause of death for black males in this age group—seven times higher than the overall national rate. Statistics from US Centers for Disease Control, 1986, cited in US House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, "Youth and Violence: The Current Crisis: A Fact Sheet," March 9, 1988.
14. Initial earnings of college graduates in 1985 were 55 percent higher than high school graduates' first job. This is double the 27 percentage advantage reported only five years earlier and may reflect increased demand for better educated workers in a growing service economy. Kevin M. Murphy and Finis Welch, "The Structure of Wages," manuscript dated November 1987.
15. According to Sum's analysis of the March *Current Population Survey* tapes, the mean number of earners in married couple families with a householder under 30 increased from 1.61 in 1967 to 1.67 in 1973 to 1.79 in 1986.
16. Ben J. Wattenberg. *The Birth Dearth: What Happens When People in Free Countries Do Not Have Enough Babies*. New York: Pharos Books, 1987.
17. Apgar and Brown, especially pp. 20-28.
18. James R. Wetzel. *American Youth: A Statistical Snapshot*. Washington, DC: YAF, 1987, p. 30; US Census Bureau. *Disability, Functional Limitation, and Health Insurance Coverage: 1984/85*. Household Economic Studies Series P-70, No. 8. Washington, DC: USGPO, December 1986.

19. National Center for Health Statistics. *Total Family Expenditures for Health Care: United States, 1980.* Washington, DC: Department of Health and Human Services, USGPO, 1987. See also Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Projections 2000.* Bulletin 2302, Washington, DC: US Department of Labor, USGPO, March 1988.
20. Bureau of Labor Statistics projection reported in *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 111, No. 3, March 1988, p. 25.
21. William B. Johnston and Arnold H. Packer. *Workforce 2000: Work and Workers for the Twenty-first Century.* Indianapolis, IN: Hudson Institute, 1987.
22. Center for Demographic Policy, Institute for Educational Leadership, press release, June 23, 1988; (Suite 310, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202)822-8405).
23. Johnston and Packer. Another source projects that 42 percent of all *new* jobs likely to be created in the next 12 years will have to be filled by minorities. *Paine Webber's Washington Focus* (1529 18th Street, Washington, DC 20036), April 29, 1988.
24. On the opportunities inherent in a rising labor cost economy, see John F. McLaughlin, "The Baby Boom Bust: A Boom for the Information Business?" *Perspectives*, Harvard University Program on Information Resources Policy (200 Aiken, Cambridge, MA 02138), June 1988.
25. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "The Employment Situation: July 1988." Additional youth-related analysis by Frank Slobig, Youth Service America, Suite 900, 1319 F Street, NW, Washington, DC 20004 (202)783-8855 and technical staff of BLS (202)523-1659.
26. Andrew Sum, Paul Harrington, Robert Vinson, and William Goedicke, "Poverty Amid Renewed Affluence: The Poor of New England at Mid-Decade," *New England Journal of Public Policy*, Fall 1986, pp. 3-26; also Sum, Harrington, W. Neal Fogg, and Goedicke, *Family Poverty in the New Boston Economy: Recent Trends in the Size and Composition of Family Poverty Problems in the City of Boston.* Boston, MA: Massachusetts Executive Office of Economic Affairs, 1987; Children's Defense Fund, unpublished data on "Income Distribution Among Young Families."

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2: STRONGER FAMILIES AND CLOSER ADULT-YOUTH RELATIONSHIPS

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2. Louis Harris and Associates. *Americans and the Arts, V.* New York: National Research Center of the Arts, January 1988, pp. 20-21.
3. Kenneth Keniston and the Carnegie Council on Children. *All Our Children: American Families Under Pressure.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1977.
4. Ellen Goodman. *Close to Home.* New York: Fawcet Crest, 1979, p. 166.
5. James Youniss. *Mutuality in Parent-Adolescent Relationships.* Washington, DC: YAF, 1988.
6. The following review of literature is drawn largely from Diana Baumrind, "Parenting Styles and Adolescent Development," *The Encyclopedia on Adolescence.* New York: Garland, forthcoming.
7. Beatrix Hamburg, "Coping in Early Adolescence: The Special Challenges of the Junior High School Period," in S. Arieti and Gerald Kaplan, eds. *American Handbook of Psychiatry, Vol. 2: Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, Sociocultural and Community Psychiatry*, 2nd ed. New York: Basic Books, 1974, pp. 385-97; also R. Josselson, "Psychodynamic Aspects of Identity Formation in College Women," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, Vol. 2, 1973, pp. 3-52.
8. Erik Erikson, "Identity and the Life Cycle," *Psychological Issues*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1959; Anna Freud, "Adolescence As A Developmental Disturbance," in G. Kaplan and S. Lebovici, eds. *Adolescence: Psychosocial Perspectives.* New York: Basic Books, 1969, pp. 5-10.
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NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7: EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING

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Appendix A

Mentoring: Lessons From Experience

Mentors offer youth more than role models; they offer them the friendship of a caring adult. A role model is defined as one whose life and experiences provide a concrete image of who a younger person can become. By contrast, a mentor is someone who lends guidance and support to enable the young person to become whoever they choose to be. If the role model's message is "Be like *me*," the mentor's implicit message says: "I will help you be whoever *you* want to be."[1] Young people need to hear and believe both messages. If the path to success begins where dream and opportunity meet, role models can show young people how far they can go, and mentors can help them find the way.

It is best when these relationships arise spontaneously, and sometimes they do. But many young people have never had a close relationship with an adult who thinks well of them and who is in their corner. Structured mentoring in job-training programs, in apprenticeships, in community service projects, at youth agencies, as well as in the schools and on the job, can bring adults and youth together. As in many programs based on human interaction, little research-based evidence exists to confirm the success of structured mentoring, but on the grounds of observation and experience, the Commission believes they hold great promise.

Mentoring generally refers to an older, more experienced person helping a younger one in a one-to-one relationship that goes beyond the formal obligations of a teaching or supervisory role.[2] Named after Mentor, "the wise and faithful friend" who Odysseus asked to watch over his son, Telemachus, mentoring has always played an important part in adult career development. In one study of business executives, nearly two-thirds of the respondents had had at least one mentor. About one-third reported having had two or more. Respondents characterized the majority of their mentors as having had "substantial" influence on their careers with one in six calling their effect extraordinary.[3]

More recently, mentors have been used to help young people plan for their careers, and to succeed in school and as parents. Because the mentoring role tends to be open-ended, successful programs develop their own definition of good mentoring through trial and error. One closely-studied application was the Community Woman component of Project Redirection, a teen pregnancy and parent support project designed and evaluated by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC).[4] During the project's first phase, mentors were asked to provide only emotional support and guidance. More specific tasks were added later, including instruction, problem-solving, serving as a confidante, and reinforcing overall program objectives. Over time, the mentoring role continued to include new elements. "Shadowing," the simple notion of the teen joining the community woman in her daily routine, watching and helping the older woman as she raised her own children, managed her household, dealt with problems, planned meals, and made purchases, for example, emerged as an activity every bit as legitimate as more structured, teen-focused activities.[5]

Sometimes this lack of precise role-definition can make mentoring hard to fit into an existing institutional setting. In the early days of the Student Mentor Program,[6] a joint effort of the City University of New York and the New York City Board of Education in operation since 1984, mentors were paired during school hours with high school students with disabilities. In order to gain student trust, mentors tried to stay separate from the existing authority structure even though they operated under the school authority, received directions from the teachers, and reported to them. Teachers tried not to interfere with mentor-student relationships, but because neither adult volunteers, project organizers, teachers, or students entirely agreed on what mentors should do, some felt that closer collaboration between mentors and teachers would have been helpful.[7]

Effective mentors learn to balance competing expectations. On the one hand, they are expected to be accepting, non-judgmental confidants; on the other, they remain adults with an obligation to exercise

authority when necessary. A Lancaster County, Nebraska, Child Protective Services program called the Parent Aide Support Service (PASS)[8] uses volunteers in a family-based mentoring variation. Parent Aides are described not as counselors in the traditional sense, but as "friendly helpers who will listen and understand whatever the parent is comfortable sharing." The primary emphasis is on supportive and non-judgmental assistance, but parent aides are also required to make sure that the parent they help knows that they are legally required to report any instances of abuse or neglect.

Care and trust, the cornerstones of good mentoring, require time to grow. The most successful relationships are long-term and continuous. Effective programs help potential volunteers to understand that mentoring entails at minimum a year-long commitment if the new relationship is to provide substantial help. As one mentor in a school-based program remarked, "I learned that miracles don't happen overnight. You need patience to take small steps, rather than big ones." Programs employ a variety of strategies to recruit strong mentors and build in supports and recognition that keep their enthusiasm high. A recent ceremony honoring mentors from five New York City colleges gave participants an opportunity to reflect on the value of their contribution. Said one mentor: "I feel guilty being honored for taking part in the program because I got so much out of it. I made a friend and I think I made a difference."[9]

Some mentoring programs have found large numbers of willing and able volunteers in church congregations. The Orita Program—an African word meaning crossroads—is an eight-year-old project sponsored by the Union Temple Baptist Church in the District of Columbia. Adult "Men of the Temple" agree to sponsor a young adolescent throughout his teenage years and to follow his progress at home and in school. The boys, in turn, pledge to accept their guidance, which includes instruction in sexual responsibility, self-reliance, and the dangers of drug abuse, as well as skill training in their sponsor's special area of expertise.[10]

Mentoring programs have also been successfully developed by businesses, especially when they encourage employees to participate by allowing them released time to do so. First Bank of Minneapolis employees volunteer to attend weekly "Kinship Group" meetings with at-risk youth. In the same city, Pillsbury recruits its employees to work with at-risk junior high students in a mentoring effort called "Destiny." Building on these initiatives, additional Minneapolis businesses, including General Mills, Honeywell, and Dayton Hudson, have worked together to develop the concept of a Youth Trust, a long-term joint commitment undertaken by business, the community, and the schools to better prepare city youth for future careers. Part of its proposed program is a "One-on-One" campaign conducted in businesses and throughout the city to recruit tutors and mentors to spend a few hours a month with a young person.

Atlanta's Rich's Academy, an alternative school for students who fail in traditional settings, is a partnership of Cities in Schools of Atlanta (a branch of the national, non-profit, anti-dropout organization),[11] the Atlanta Board of Education, Fulton County, and Rich's Department Store. Located on Rich's second floor in the heart of downtown Atlanta, employees of Rich's and other nearby firms volunteer time daily to help young people solve the social, legal, emotional, and financial problems that often keep them from concentrating on their school work. Help is available to young people whenever they need it, and volunteers are given released time during their working day to offer it.

Most people volunteer as mentors not only to help young people but because they hope to benefit as well. Recruiters need to let volunteers know that this is a reasonable expectation and that the program will try to meet their needs as well as those of young people. The CUNY Student Mentor Program, for example, found that offering course credit, in tandem with the lure of participating in an innovative research project, motivated college students to participate. The Networking Project for Disabled Women and Girls stepped in to reimburse mentors who could not afford the high transportation costs they routinely incurred. In general, successful programs offer incentives and supports to attract volunteers with diverse lifestyles, backgrounds, age, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic standing that help them provide supportive relationships for the many different young people that need them.[12]

Good mentoring programs take special pains to involve the neediest youth. The ones who could most benefit from a mentoring relationship are often those with such a limited vision of their own future that they are not likely to see the advantages

such a relationship would offer them. Some research shows that teenage parents, for example, tend to avoid both formal and informal supports. In an effort to dispel their own and others' doubts about their ability to be parents, they isolate themselves rather than reach out for the help that may be available.[13] Still other adolescents may be discouraged by overprotective parents, or by parents whose experiences with service agencies have made them distrustful.[14]

Peers can often recruit young people better than adults. Word of mouth between those who are already participating in mentoring relationships and those who are not is often the most effective initial strategy to involve hesitant teens. Once the young person has expressed interest, programs can lessen parent resistance by developing preliminary activities that invite, but do not require, their participation.

Laying the groundwork for a good relationship should begin long before the mentor and young person meet. The first mentors in the Networking Project for Disabled Women and Girls[15] complained that, because the girls seldom called them, the burden for maintaining the relationship fell entirely on them. What they didn't understand was that, from the girls' point of view, initiating a call to an adult, as one would call a friend, was an extremely difficult undertaking. Young people, accustomed to relating to adults as authority figures, frequently need help in learning to see adults as *resources*. Adults need to understand the difference between adolescent trepidation and laziness or lack of interest. The Networking Project found that training—both before and after mentoring began, using panel discussions, workshops, and small groups that allowed girls and women to meet separately as well as together—helped both groups explore the boundaries of mentoring relationships in general, and their own in particular. In addition, advance training for mentors can help them put aside unreasonable expectations. Some mentors, by virtue of their own accomplishments, set standards that intimidate, rather than inspire, young people. Adults need to remember that their role is not only to provide a model of success, but also to help youth meet the reasonable expectations that they set for themselves.

Effective programs match adults and adolescents along several dimensions, but research findings offer no hard and fast rules. The preference for same-sex pairing, for example, is widespread, but scant evidence supports its importance. Projects that match youth and adults with disabilities find that similarity of disability may not always be necessary. Race and class, however, appear to be particularly important variables. In the community woman mentoring component of Project Redirection, middle class volunteers were generally ineffective mentors for low-income young women. Frequently overwhelmed by the world of domestic violence, housing blight, homelessness, and poverty in which the young women lived, they were unable to do much to help them.[16] Mentors in the Project Redirection study were most successful when they and the teen parents they were helping shared the same values and experiences. The comprehensive nature of this helping relationship made race and class similarities especially important. In more circumscribed models, work-based mentoring, for example, the same degree of congruence may not be as vital.

In the Student Mentor Program, young people get to choose their mentors. Most mentors are full-time college students, about 25 years of age, and usually involved in mentoring as part of a field work practicum in education, counseling, or psychology. Over 90 percent of the young people they mentor are black or Hispanic, identifying Spanish as their primary language. A shared interest in improving grades brings the two partners in these working groups together.

In the Each One/Reach One Program developed by the New Concept Self Development Center,[17] a comprehensive, nonprofit, social service agency in Milwaukee, black professional women are recruited and trained to serve as role models. Paired with an adolescent, they spend a minimum of ten hours a month together, visiting the woman's job, each other's homes, and attending cultural events. Because the program hopes to expose not only the girl but her whole family to an alternative lifestyle, the mother and siblings of the adolescent participant are included whenever possible.

Geographic match can be important if the distance between the pair makes it unusually hard to get together. Distance can affect the young person's sense of his or her mentor's availability and make the adult seem inaccessible even though they may only be a phone call away. Research findings suggest that perception of availability strongly affects young people's use of social supports.[18]

Finally, a good match depends on the right blend of personalities, temperaments, and expectations—a subtle chemistry that is

hard to predict. Many adolescents and adults in mentoring relationships are initially as awkward with each other as "two teenagers at their first dance." Good training before the mentoring experience begins can help even less than perfect combinations survive long enough to find their own strengths. Once begun, mentoring relationships continue to need careful tending. Many programs find that planned group activities that bring pairs together, especially when relationships are new and still tentative, can keep motivation high. In addition, activities that include parents can both strengthen the bonds between mentors and young people and reduce the possibility that parents who feel shut-out will undermine the mentoring relationship.

CONCLUSION

In addition to positive effects on career aspirations and accomplishments, mentoring relationships build skills that increase self-esteem and show young people that caring adults think they are worthwhile, important, and can make a difference in the world. Mentors are a significant social support that can help buffer young people against stress, and they may also promote compassion and commitment. In the study of business executives cited earlier, those who had had the most positive mentoring experiences seemed to feel a stronger obligation to share mentoring with others. They were almost twice as likely to have had a protege themselves in later life.[19] Although the research is far from conclusive, we suspect that one-to-one supportive relationships with people of all ages help young people see the world from a variety of perspectives and encourage understanding and cooperation. Young people who can draw on both peer and adult support report lower levels of problem behavior and high levels of compassion and prosocial behavior.[20]

We applaud the recent growth of mentoring programs in America's schools, youth organizations, and churches. Many programs invite cooperation across program boundaries and include the business community as a source of both mentors and financial support. In doing so, they make a major contribution to American youth and demonstrate the kind of partnership this Commission believes is vital to our country's future.

Encouraging research on mentoring programs exists, but we recognize that it is far from conclusive. The effect of any given personal relationship on the development of an individual's values and attitudes often emerges indirectly, is likely to be quite subtle, and, no doubt, is highly idiosyncratic; but lack of hard evidence is not a reason to lessen these interventions. Instead, more sensitive methods to measure effectiveness, especially techniques that focus on individual, rather than program outcomes, are needed.[21] In the meantime, we believe that many more programs should be developed, evaluated, and refined.

NOTES

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4. Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, Three Park Avenue, New York, NY 10016 (212)532-3200.
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6. Student Mentor Program, 351 W. 18th St., Rm. 236, New York, NY 10011 (212)645-4141.
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8. Parent Aide Support Service, Nebraska Department of Social Services, 1001 O St., Lincoln, NE 68508 (402) 471-7000.
9. Ed Barbini, "Program Lauds Curtis Student and His Mentor," *Staten Island Advance*, February 24, 1988, p. A18.
10. Courtland Milloy, "Youth Guidance Program At Church Built on Pride." *Washington Post*, March 10, 1988, p. DC 1. Orita Project, Union Temple Baptist Church, 2002 14th St., NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202)889-1888.

11. Cites in Schools National Headquarters, 1023 15th St., NW, Suite 600, Washington, DC 20005 (202)861-0230.
12. Networking Project for Disabled Women and Girls, YWCA of New York, 610 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10022 (212)755-4500.
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14. Rousso, p. 31.
15. The following discussion draws heavily on insights offered by the project director, Harilyn Rousso, in conversations with the Commission staff.
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Appendix B

Youth Leadership Development Programs

Further elaboration of some youth leadership development models around the country:

URBAN ADVENTURES

Urban Adventures of New York City has taken the Outward Bound leadership development program model and adapted it to an urban setting. Outward Bound programs use wilderness experiences to teach that leadership requires both service to others and teamwork.* Urban Adventures parallels the culminating Outward Bound activity—a "solo" experience in wilderness survival—with a comparable city-based challenge: finding one's way to—and across—the Brooklyn Bridge from some unspecified point in New York City. An urban scavenger hunt requires cooperation in order to meet time and task deadlines. Program participants, typically *not* drawn from the top of their high school class, also develop and implement service projects in their home schools. Over 350 students have participated in the program.[1]

* Outward Bound is discussed in Chapter 3 of the report.

LEADERSHIP AMERICA

A national leadership development program for college youth, Leadership America offers a ten-week summer program to fifty outstanding college juniors. Students in this highly competitive program complete self-assessment at the Center for Creative Leadership in North Carolina, Outward Bound activity in Colorado, a symposium in Dallas, a one-month internship with outstanding leaders, and a culminating cooperative policy research report that is intended to affect public policy. The program is sponsored by the International Leadership Center.[2]

THE MINNESOTA GOVERNOR'S SCHOLARS PROGRAM

Sponsored by the Minnesota Academic Excellence Foundation, this program provides two youth leadership development seminars, one for a week in August and one for three days in February, coordinated with community service throughout the year. In 1988-89, more than one hundred students from a variety of ethnic and racial groups will work as peer counselors and mentors to younger students. They will also explore the nature of leadership through study and exchange.[3]

THE JOHN MACY LEADERSHIP SEMINAR

This Montgomery County, Maryland, public schools program was initiated by the late John Macy, a former director of the US Civil Service Commission. Now in its third year, the Seminar brings prominent leaders to a non-credit, after-school program for approximately twenty students nominated by their high schools. The leaders talk about the nature of leadership and relate the analysis to personal experience. The students engage in a group community service project and a mock school board debate. The experience includes a mentoring program in which students spend at least one day observing a leader. This program continues under the leadership of a Montgomery County councilmember and the president of Interages, a local senior citizen/youth cooperation group.[4]

NATIONAL YOUTH LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

This national resource for youth leadership development, based at the Center for Youth Development and Research of the University of Minnesota, has created after-school activity, camps, and forums throughout the country. The Council's leadership development program has served over 2000 high school students, approximately 50 percent of whom are from minority groups, in summer camps and other activities. Its projects integrate ethnic groups, socio-economic classes, and ages. It recruits professional leadership development staff, as well as students, from a network of organizations. Five members of the Upper Midwest National Youth Leadership Project, who came from Cambodia to this country without their parents, initiated a summer

camp for Cambodian immigrant students. They developed the camp in cooperation with Catholic Charities and a $15,000 grant. The Council also develops youth policy materials for state policymakers.[5]

* * *

These youth leadership development programs share many positive features—community service and self-conscious strategies of cooperation, often invoking wilderness experience or an urban parallel. All strive to build the participants' self-esteem, and all develop networks that continue beyond the time and place of these programs.

They also share some common opportunities for improvement. Many adult leaders of youth programs would benefit from a systematic study of leadership—time to think about the relationship between the exercise of authority and the development of initiative, the tension between reaching consensus and ruling out dissent, the difference between consultation and judgment, and the ethical dilemmas of leadership and followership.

Most youth leadership programs use a range of experiential activities to engage participants actively in small group exercises that show them they can lead, but that they also must be prepared to follow. Still, too few seem to experiment with new methods that could help young people experience leadership in all of its complexity. For example, simulations and role playing offer opportunities to test the nature of group endeavor in political and international environments. Musical and theatrical improvisation can provide powerful occasions to celebrate creativity, encourage appropriate risk-taking, and reward active audience/performer respect through careful listening. Cross-age teaching, giving youth the chance to teach each other, creates unique occasions for learning; yet too many youth programs are age-segregated.

Few leadership development programs use academic study or intellectual encounter. Yet, reading and writing are important complements to experience. Some academic work for both students and trainers can pay substantial dividends.

Much youth leadership development work goes on as a discrete endeavor without linkage to the larger leadership development movement. The Council for Liberal Learning of the Association of American Colleges offers youth development leaders an opportunity to form an alliance with other leadership training professionals. The Council has established a national leadership development network to connect campus and community-based programs and sponsors annual institutes on the study and practice of leadership.[6]

The major challenge facing youth leadership development is to include more of the Forgotten Half. Though progress is being made, programs for this group are still so few that most such young people never have this experience.

NOTES

1. David Brandstein and Peter Bailey were resources for this account: David Brandstein, executive director, Urban Adventures, 351 West 25th Street, New York, NY 10001 (212)989-7828.
2. Stan Altschuler, executive director, Leadership America, 1600 Two Turtle Creek Center, Dallas, TX 75219-5419 (214)526-2953.
3. Todd Lefko, director, Lefko and Associates, 1528 Grantham, St. Paul, MN 55108 (612)645-4944.
4. Bruce Adams, Montgomery County Council, Stella B. Werner, Council Office Building, Rockville, MD 20850 (301)217-7900.
5. James Kielsmeier, President, National Youth Leadership Council, 386 McNeal Hall, University of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN 55108 (612)624-2719.
6. Council for Liberal Learning, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202)387-3760.

Appendix C

Pledges: Road Markers of Participation

Medicine, law, and other professions have long recognized the value of codes, credos, and pledges in teaching ethical behavior and the importance of service to others. Experienced youth workers believe that similar pledges, first taken in conjunction with a specific ceremony or ritual and frequently repeated, can impress young people with the importance of high standards and their own ability to achieve them.

The Commission does not recommend any particular statement; instead, we cite several that may encourage schools, youth groups, and community agencies to consider the usefulness of this educative device and perhaps to develop their own.

The **Oath of the Athenian Young Men** (Ephebic Oath), typically taken at age 17 in impressive civic ceremonies, is well over 2,000 years-old:

We will never bring disgrace in this our City, by any act of dishonesty and cowardice. We will fight for the ideals and Sacred things of the City both alone and with many.

We will revere and obey the City's laws, and will do our best to incite a like reverence and respect in those above us who are prone to annul them or set them at naught.

We will strive increasingly to quicken the public's sense of civic duty.

Thus, in all these ways, we will transmit this City not only not less but greater, and more beautiful, than it was transmitted to us.

The **4-H Club Pledge** and **4-H Citizenship Pledge**, with clear roots in the Athenian Oath, strike us as worthy of consideration:

I pledge
My head to clearer thinking,
My heart to greater loyalty,
My hands to larger service, and
My health to better living
For my club, my community, my country and my world.

We, individually and collectively, pledge our efforts from day to day to fight for the ideals of our nation.

We will never allow tyranny and injustice to become enthroned in this, our country, through indifference to our duties as citizens.

We will strive for intellectual honesty and exercise it through our power of franchise. We will obey the laws of our land and endeavor increasingly to quicken the sense of public duty among our fellow men.

We will strive for individual improvement and for social betterment. We will devote our talents to the enrichment of our homes and our communities in relation to their material, social, and spiritual needs.

We will endeavor to transmit our Nation to posterity not merely as we found it, but freer, happier, and more beautiful than when it was transmitted to us.

Other contemporary examples of pledges taken by older youth are used, respectively, by the **City Volunteer Corps of New York City** and by **Square One Career Start** of Santa Ana, California, a private, nonprofit career training program, to acknowledge new commitments made by youth:[1]

I, _____ , with a clear mind and free spirit, am today a member of the City Volunteer Corps.

I pledge that I will respect and support others, and that I will be a true member of my team.

I will wear my uniform with pride.

I promise to be fair, to be honest, and to persevere in my tasks.

Above all, I pledge that I will serve the people of the City of New York with honor, with dignity, and to the very best of my ability.

Square One graduates go to job interviews armed with the following "Work

Commitment" which they sign and attach to each of their applications for employment:

I have chosen a working life style in which I am willing to start at square one and work my way to a better than average career. I also realize that I will have to prove my worth in order to attain my goals, by starting at the bottom and working my way to the top. The following five statements are fully understood by me and I believe in them 100 percent.

1. *I expect to give you a full eight hours work for eight hours pay.*
2. *I will accept any job assignment cheerfully.*
3. *I will not steal from you, either in time or property.*
4. *I have also made a commitment to spend at least two hours a week, on my own time, on career improvement.*
5. *I would also expect, if I am heading in the wrong direction, to be informed.*

Youth as Resources of Southwestern Indiana, in Evansville, Indiana, uses this pledge:

I pledge to be a Youth Resource in my corner of the world. This means I will:
show by my actions that I am responsible and can make my community strong by:
helping others through projects
helping others through kindness

show by my actions that I am not a source of today's problems, but a source of today's solutions by:
identifying problems kids are facing. . .
making suggestions as to how to solve these problems
working to solve these problems.[2]

These pledges and others that emanate from the community are reminders of how young people, in this and other cultures, reinforce their passages to adulthood by ceremonial participation. We encourage young people in schools, organizations, and programs to develop their own ceremonies and pledges as a way to mark important commitments in their lives. We believe this will assist youth and adults in feeling and acting on their capacity for social connectedness and responsibility to others.

NOTES

1. City Volunteer Corps, 842 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 (212)475-6444; Square One Career Start, 1226 E. Edinger Avenue, Santa Ana, CA 92707 (714)973-9292.
2. Youth As Resources of Southwestern Indiana, 405 Carpenter Street, Evansville, IN 47708 (812)428-7593.

Appendix D

The California and Boston Compacts and the Cleveland Initiative: Planning Guides for Local Communities

THE CALIFORNIA COMPACT

Following are edited excerpts from the Planning Guide for Local Communities of the California Compact which the Commission discusses in Chapter 5. (Information on the Boston and Cleveland plans follows.) We believe that similar measures, adapted to local needs and preferences, would make a large and positive difference for many of America's youth.

> *Programs for the most at-risk youth must: combine work and learning, provide intensity of training, be delivered through alternative instructional methodologies and alternative settings, be open entry-open exit, and be individualized and competency-based.*
>
> —Lori Strumpf, Project Director
> Center for Remediation Design

A. The Planning Team

To form a local compact, school and community leaders meet informally to discuss their mutual goals and concerns regarding preparation of the community's youth for jobs and citizenship. State-level Compact Coordinators assist in preparing for the exploratory meetings. Team members should include leaders from each of the following:

- chamber of commerce
- parent organizations
- Private Industry Council (PIC)
- school administration
- teacher organizations
- city/county government
- job placement agencies
- college and university administration
- community volunteer groups, such as Literacy Volunteers

B. Planning

To initiate Compact planning, a designated lead agency invites community leaders to assign representatives to a steering committee. The committee develops an annual plan with specific strategies for meeting identified goals.

To ensure a comprehensive plan, subcommittees prepare reports on the following:

1. community demographics including:
   - types of area business and job categories
   - perceived shortages of skilled employees
   - perceived deficits in employee skills and knowledge
   - existing job training opportunities
   - existing higher education opportunities
   - existing scholarship opportunities
2. school achievement statistics (provide steering committee with copies of the district's annual School Performance Reports):
   - dropout rates for middle and high schools
   - dropout rates for ethnic groups or geographic areas
   - achievement scores
   - school improvement goals
   - counseling services for college and jobs
   - special programs for vocational preparation
   - recognition programs for student incentives
3. postsecondary programs and opportunities
   - area postsecondary institutions
   - placement services and information
   - scholarship information and referral
   - counseling services for financial aid and placement
   - vocational preparation programs
   - outreach to families

C. The Plan: Program Goals and Strategies to Achieve Them

Based on analysis of the subcommittee reports, a staff team from the steering committee, (composed of both volunteers and school personnel), prepares a draft of the Compact Plan, including measurable goals and specific strategies for achieving

them. It reflects the needs identified in the subcommittee reports. Each cooperating agency reviews the draft and makes recommendations. The entire steering committee then reviews and revises the draft plan for final approval.

Sample goals (similar to those adopted in the Boston Compact and other programs) might include:

1. Schools agree to:

   a. Improve academic achievement
      - improve the dropout rate by _____ % per year
      - reduce absenteeism by _____ % per year
      - improve scores by _____ per year
      - reduce class size/teaching load from _____ to _____
      - improve quality of textbooks/ materials
      - improve school climate/discipline
      - improve the safety/adequacy of school facilities
      - identify academically talented students (particularly those who are identified as potentially at risk) by the 4th grade and provide support for them through the next eight years
      - develop a "custom handling" case management system that will provide students with mentors, counselors, and a computerized record that will track their attainment of college credits or job training goals. The system design enables the school to provide remedial help in a timely manner for students who are at risk of failing to attain their goals (remedial help includes daycare, drug counseling, remedial education, alternative settings, etc.)

   b. Improve the quality of teaching
      - end assignment of teachers outside subject area
      - provide opportunities for professional development
      - improve the quality of instructional leadership

   c. Improve the college-readiness of students
      - improve college placement rates by _____. % per year
      - improve job preparation/career counseling services by _____ %
      - counsel students on college requirements and aptitudes by the 7th grade; inform parents
      - develop an incentive system for college enrollment, such as the Cleveland Initiative for Education (see following)

   d. Improve the job readiness skills of students
      - work with business to define educational standards required for entry-level employment
      - implement a system for informing employers when students have met grade and attendance standards that qualify them for preferential hiring (for example: many California communities have initiated a "preferred student recognition card" program)
      - provide half the salary (from school or private funds) for "career specialists" who are on the PIC staff and provide school-to-work transition services on the school campus
      - administer pre- and post-program tests on job readiness

2. The Chamber of Commerce and its members agree to:
   - give preferential hiring to _____ # of high school graduates if the students achieve a _____ grade average and maintain an approved attendance level
   - provide scholarships that enable qualified low-income students to attend postsecondary institutions
   - continue providing enrichment and incentives through partnerships with the schools
   - give parents released time for parent conferences; assist on curriculum advisory committees; participate in career mentoring, internship, work-experience, and other partnership programs; provide financial rewards and other recognition and incentives for students and teachers who show exemplary achievement and motivation; provide staff to serve as mentors to assist high-risk youth and targeted academically-talented 4th graders in achieving goals
   - provide computers, other equipment, and staff to assist schools in achieving their "custom handling" tracking of student achievement and the counseling and assistance provided to each student, particularly for at-risk youth, to ensure that they continue to progress and meet goals leading to college and job placement

- provide incentives, recognition, and training for school site managers (leadership is a key to program success)
- provide a loaned executive to identify job openings for graduates and for summer work experience
- work with schools to define standards for employability
- provide training for student supervisors in job settings and for teachers who provide job/counseling assessment

3. Postsecondary institutions agree to:

- expand counseling so enrollments increase by _____ %
- set goals for under-represented minorities
- provide support services for counseling staff at schools
- expand financial aid opportunities and information referral
- sponsor centers at schools and libraries to provide information, referral, and counseling on financial aid and postsecondary opportunities (especially at the middle school level)
- provide summer programs for junior high students
- develop a special support system to ensure that students complete their program and obtain a degree
- develop a system for encouraging under-represented students to enroll in higher education
- develop a parent orientation program to provide information to parents of academically talented 4th graders

Priority will be given to schools with high concentrations of under-represented minority students.

4. The Private Industry Council and other job placement and training agencies agree to:

- work with a loaned business person from the chamber to coordinate job development for summer jobs and jobs for graduates
- provide an on-site "career specialist" (salary may be shared with school district) to coordinate: school-to-work transition programs for students; placement of students in the targeted job openings; establishment of a screening and process for ensuring student eligibility for job openings; school site Job Skill Training classes for at-risk youth; and job counseling at school sites
- establish a system for evaluating program strengths and weaknesses

5. Area libraries agree to:

- provide space for a "higher education referral center" which would provide information on financial aid and postsecondary education institutions
- promote a Literacy Volunteers program to the schools for use by identified at-risk students

6. Volunteer groups such as service clubs, volunteer centers, school site councils, and senior citizens can provide:

- remedial tutoring in reading and mathematics
- mock job interviews
- organizational expertise for recognition events
- mentors to provide "custom handling"/ case management for students who are trying to meet personal goals

7. Local government can provide:

- jobs for graduates
- recognition to program participants
- recognition for students
- coordination with human service professionals for at-risk students and their families (e.g., daycare for teen parents; referral to community support agencies, etc.)
- joint use of facilities or equipment for job placement and referral services to youth

8. Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) can provide:

- drug counseling and teen parent support services
- family counseling and support services
- personal counseling and guidance services
- training for school counselors and teachers in dealing with at-risk youth and families
- daycare referrals and support for teen parents

D. Program Implementation

After the steering committee adopts the proposed Compact Plan, including goals and strategies for achieving them, participating agency leaders sign formal agreements. In Boston, participating businesses signed an employer's letter of intent. A simple memorandum of understanding might suffice to formalize the community compact.

The goals, statement of agreement, and first-year plan should be advertised to the community as soon as appropriate. In this way, local media, parents, and other community members can provide additional support to ensure success of the compact.

E. Evaluation

The steering committee sets a calendar for a progress review of the measurable objectives of the Compact. (For example, fall measurement of college and job placements for graduates and review of the Annual School Performance Reports). If goals have not been met on time, an evaluation team should be appointed to assess the nature of the delays and to recommend new strategies for meeting the goals.

The calendar should include an annual progress report to the public.

RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE CALIFORNIA COMPACT

COMPONENT	RESPONSIBILITY
1. Meet High Academic Standards (reading, math, attendance, test scores)	
a. Identify high-risk youth for remedial help and motivation (use State Department of Education guidelines for identification; include attendance, drug use, family problems, poor grades, failure to accumulate graduation credits)	• School counselor
b. Provide tutoring & remedial help	• Volunteers/centers
c. Provide incentives; recognition	• Businesses
d. Provide alternative learning environments and classroom enhancements for math, science, English, social sciences (computer-assisted learning, interactive video)	• Businesses/Job Corps
e. Provide mentors for at-risk youth	• Business/community volunteer centers
f. Provide instruction in new technologies/emerging jobs	• Business
g. Inform students and teachers about attendance, grade-level and instructional standards which make students eligible for Compact jobs and scholarships	• School administration
h. Provide "custom handling" for students by identifying mentors for at-risk or high-achieving 4th graders and by developing a system for tracking the information, assistance, and counseling provided to encourage students in achieving goals	• School administration; volunteer centers/ business volunteers/colleges
2. Promote Higher Education Opportunities	
a. Provide information about higher education opportunities/requirements (especially at middle schools)	• Area colleges/libraries/school counselor
b. Provide financial aid information and referral	• Area colleges/libraries/school counselors
c. Provide scholarships	• Businesses/colleges school districts
d. Develop outreach system to attract high-risk and minority students to higher education	• School counselors/college staff
e. Develop incentives for higher education	• Schools/colleges
f. Develop program to inform parents about higher education opportunities and requirements	• School counselors/4th–8th grades/area colleges

COMPONENT	RESPONSIBILITY
g. Assist elementary and junior high schools in identifying high-risk or academically-talented students and in providing those students and their parents with information and guidance to prepare for college; develop system to track students through secondary school	• Area colleges/elementary and junior high schools/business mentors
3. Prepare Students for Jobs	
a. Provide courses in job skills	• Vocational education teachers/PIC/ business
b. Prepare students with mock interviews; resume skills	• Career specialist/business community volunteers
c. Provide vocational assessment/ employment counseling	• Career specialist/PIC/ vocational education
d. Define educational standards for entry-level employment	• Business/PIC/schools
4. Coordinate Job Development	
a. Identify summer and full-time jobs for students who meet Compact standards	• Career specialist/PIC/Chamber of Commerce
b. Coordinate student screening and job placement	• Career specialist/PIC/counselors, Job Corps
5. Provide Incentives and Training for Compact Staff	
a. Provide management assistance and training to school administrators (site leadership is essential to Compact success)	• Business/State Department of Education/ colleges
b. Provide training for student supervisors at job sites	• Vocational education teachers/PIC/ business
c. Provide career assessment training for teachers/school counselors	• Vocational education/PIC
6. Provide Program Assessment	
a. Study college placement/achievement of Accountability Program goals	• School administration/Compact steering committee/State Department of Education
b. Assess student job aptitudes/readiness	• Chamber of Commerce/ PIC/Compact steering committee

SAMPLE CALIFORNIA COMPACT CRITERIA

All students meeting the following criteria will be guaranteed priority hiring status for summer, after-school, and after-graduation jobs *and/or* financial assistance needed to attend postsecondary education:

- grade point average of 2.5
- 95% attendance rate over last three years of high school
- completed coursework equivalent to the California Model Curriculum

SAMPLE STATEMENT OF INTENT

The purpose of the Compact is to stimulate academic achievement and career readiness. Under the Compact Agreement, schools will review and enhance the curriculum, and will expand community outreach, career counseling, and job readiness offerings. To stimulate students to achieve academic objectives, the business community will institute a preferential hiring program for students who meet specified standards. Eligible students will be guaranteed financial assistance when needed to attend postsecondary education.

For further information on the California Compact: Office of Intersegmental Relations, 721 Capitol Mall, 6th Floor (P.O. Box 944272), Sacramento, CA 94244-2720

THE BOSTON COMPACT

Boston has launched a number of efforts to improve educational performance and educational opportunity. Five are outlined here.

The Boston Compact began with a "straight-forward bargain that says: if the schools will work to improve the quality of public education, then businesses will work to give hiring priority to qualified graduates of the schools." (Kenneth Rossano, chairman of the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce from 1982-1984)

The original Compact laid out specific goals for each partner to the agreement:

The Boston School Department agreed to:

- improve daily attendance by 5% per year;
- reduce the high school dropout rate by 5% per year;
- improve academic performance by producing, by 1986, graduates who were at least minimally competent in math and reading;
- improve college placement rates by 5% per year; and
- improve job placement rates by 5% per year.

The business community agreed initially to:

- expand an existing work study program from three to six of the city's 17 high schools;
- recruit 200 firms pledging to give Boston high school graduates priority hiring status;
- hire within a year 400 Boston high school graduates; and
- increase the number of available summer jobs for high school undergraduates.

Local institutions of higher education agreed to:

- expand counseling, etc. to increase college enrollments by 25%
- provide additional support services for staff at high schools;
- strengthen vocational and job placement programs on campuses;
- expand financial aid opportunities; and
- increase retention of graduates who enter their institutions.

The local Private Industry Council agreed to:

- work with counterparts from private businesses in 14 high schools to provide career counseling, screening and employment reference services, and other information about the work world;
- manage the job placement goals.

The Boston Plan has evolved over the ensuing years and now includes the following components:

The "Compact"

The Compact functions as a measurable partnership between businesses and the schools. It components:

- **Provide Career Counseling and Job Placement:** Each high school has career specialists, paid through corporate and foundation funds, who work with employers to identify appropriate jobs, and work with the schools to prepare and place eligible students in these jobs. Private Industry Council (PIC) staff provide career counseling, screening, and employment reference services to place graduates in permanent jobs and students in summer jobs.
- **Improve Academic Achievement and College Placement:** In 1986, 55 percent of Boston's high school graduates went on to higher education. Math scores improved in every high school, and reading scores improved in 13 of the 17 high schools.
- **Lessen dropout rates and lower absenteeism:** The Compact has been faulted for failing to lower the dropout rate. In 1986, the Superintendent of Schools and the Mayor of Boston announced a five-year plan, "Project Promise," to cut by half the 3,000 students who drop out of school annually. Two million dollars were committed to the effort initially. In addition, the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company targeted a $1 million endowment as a part of the Boston Plan for Excellence to work with at-risk youth in the middle schools. While the dropout rate in Boston continues to be of concern, high school attendance has improved from 78.4 percent in 1982 to 84.9 percent in 1985, the highest rate in 15 years.
- **Promote partnerships between businesses and the schools:** Many Boston companies have long-standing relationships with the schools. Their partnerships include sponsorship of: teacher internship programs, grants for innovative teaching ideas, participation in work study programs, and hosting of recognition programs.

The ACCESS Program

ACCESS (Action Center for Educational Services and Scholarships) began in 1984 and has three components:

- **Information:** The Higher Education Information Center, located in the Boston Public Library, is supported by the State Higher Education Assistance Corporation and by dues from colleges and universities. The Center provides free information and counseling services about postsecondary opportunities.
- **Advice:** A cadre of trained staff work in high schools encourage students to think about college and help them understand and pursue all sources of financial aid. ACCESS business donors have set aside a $1 million dollar endowment to finance the advising component.
- **Scholarships:** When students have gained admission to a college and secured financial assistance, yet still "come up short," ACCESS makes "last dollar" scholarships available. Business donors have increased the ACCESS scholarship endowment to $5 million.

The Fenway Retention Consortium

An alliance of high schools and colleges was formed to develop a comprehensive program for retaining urban students, particularly minority students, in college.

Project Promise

Project Promise is the plan initiated by the Mayor and Superintendent of Schools to reduce dropouts. The program extends the number of school hours during a week up to one-third. Each school day is extended 90 minutes, and three hours of classes are offered on Saturdays. In September 1988, sixth to eighth graders scoring below the 40th percentile on the Metropolitan Reading Test began spending three days a week learning reading and writing and two days learning math. The effort is funded by the mayor's office, the school superintendent's office, and a $1 million endowment from the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company.

A Leadership Academy

A training program for Boston principals and headmasters was established by Boston University and the Boston Public Schools with funding assistance from the Boston Foundation and the Bank of Boston. The Leadership Academy is designed to provide "systematic and effective" training for school administrators.

Fine-tuning for 1988 and Beyond

In June 1988, the Evaluation Subcommittee of the Board of Directors, Boston Private Industry Council, reviewed the results of the first six years of the Compact's operation and recommended (1) the establishment of a Technical Committee on Measurement, with representatives of each of the major Compact components, and (2) the issuance of an annual Compact Measurement Report.

Some of the results reported by the Compact in June 1988: Compared with the Class of 1985, the Class of 1987, six months after graduation, had 36 percent (versus 29 percent) of its public high school graduates enrolled in postsecondary studies only, 20 percent versus 21 percent working *and* studying, 34 percent versus 38 percent working only. Overall, the number of high school graduates dropped over these two years from 2,960 to 2,717.

The Compact exceeded its goals for hiring of full-time public school graduates in each year from 1983, placing 1,007 graduates in 1987 at an average hourly wage of $6.18 versus the $4.28 paid in 1983 to 415 graduates.

In its Summer Jobs Program, the Compact placed 3,010 students in 1987 at an average wage of $5.39 in 669 cooperating companies, compared with 852 students, 202 companies, and an average wage of $3.86 in 1982. Similarly, the number of students placed in after-school, part-time jobs rose from 274 in 1982-83 to 1,200 in 1986-87.

For reasons not at all clear, Boston's high school graduating class dropout rate has *risen* each year, from 36.2 percent in 1982 to 46.1 percent in 1986. (Boston Public Schools, Office of Research and Development, *Dropouts in 1987*, September 1987, p. 39.) At the same time, the City's overall high school dropout rate (all grades) fell from 16.4 to 13.9 percent from 1984-85 to 1986-87.

Other communities, contemplating the creation of local compacts, may wish to consider the following "fine-tuning" recommendations which Boston's leaders were discussing in the summer of 1988:

- a written agreement between the schools and the teachers' union that grants staff autonomy in operating their school in return for meeting performance objectives; success in achieving these objectives is to be rewarded in budget allocations;

- increase in parent attendance at school activities is to be added as a performance objective for individual schools;
- at least 75 percent of the parents at every school to sign a Parents' Compact to assure that their children will attend school and complete their homework every day;
- tracking, placement, and referral to be provided for at least 75 percent of the graduates for four years after high school;
- reduce by 10 percent each year the number of students who drop out of high school;
- double in five years the number of dropouts who enroll in alternative programs leading to a diploma;
- eliminate each year 20 percent of the difference between the average achievement of Boston students on standardized reading and math tests and the achievement of the average Massachusetts student.

For further information: Boston Compact, Boston School Committee, 26 Court St., Boston, MA 02108 (617)726-6200 ext. 5313. See also "The Boston Compact: Measuring the Results," A Report to the Board of Directors, The Boston Private Industry Council, June 23, 1988.

THE CLEVELAND INITIATIVE

The Cleveland Initiative for Education, began in January 1988, was conceived by the superintendent of schools and the Greater Cleveland Roundtable (a forum of city business, civic, ethnic, and religious leaders) as a way of reducing the city's 50 percent dropout rate. Scholarships and priority hiring in a program funded by corporate and foundation contributions are the main ingredients.

According to program planners, this is the first plan that offers scholarships to every child in a major city school system. The program has three major components:

A "scholarship in escrow" program provides 7th-12th grade students $40 for each "A," $20 for each "B," and $10 for each "C" earned. The money is held in escrow and can be used for postsecondary education or training. Program planners estimate that a straight "A" student now in the seventh grade could build up $4,700 in the account by graduation, while a "C+" student could accumulate $1,800. Funds can be used at technical and vocational schools, nursing schools, business colleges, beauty schools, and colleges and universities.

A "school-to-work transition program" for the 11th and 12th graders provides job readiness training and part-time and summer work experience for students whose post-high school choice is work rather than college. Priority hiring status for full-time, entry-level jobs is guaranteed to students in the program by participating businesses.

Each high school has a career specialist to assist with the school-to-work program. This program is operated by an established public/private venture, Youth Opportunities Unlimited.

In addition, each city school employs a full-time *"external advocate"* whose primary function will be "to link individual students with necessary support services to help them stay in school."

For further information: The Cleveland Initiative for Education, Scholarship Escrow Program, Cleveland Board of Education, Room 312, 1380 E. 6th St., Cleveland, OH 44114 (216)781-7430.

Appendix E

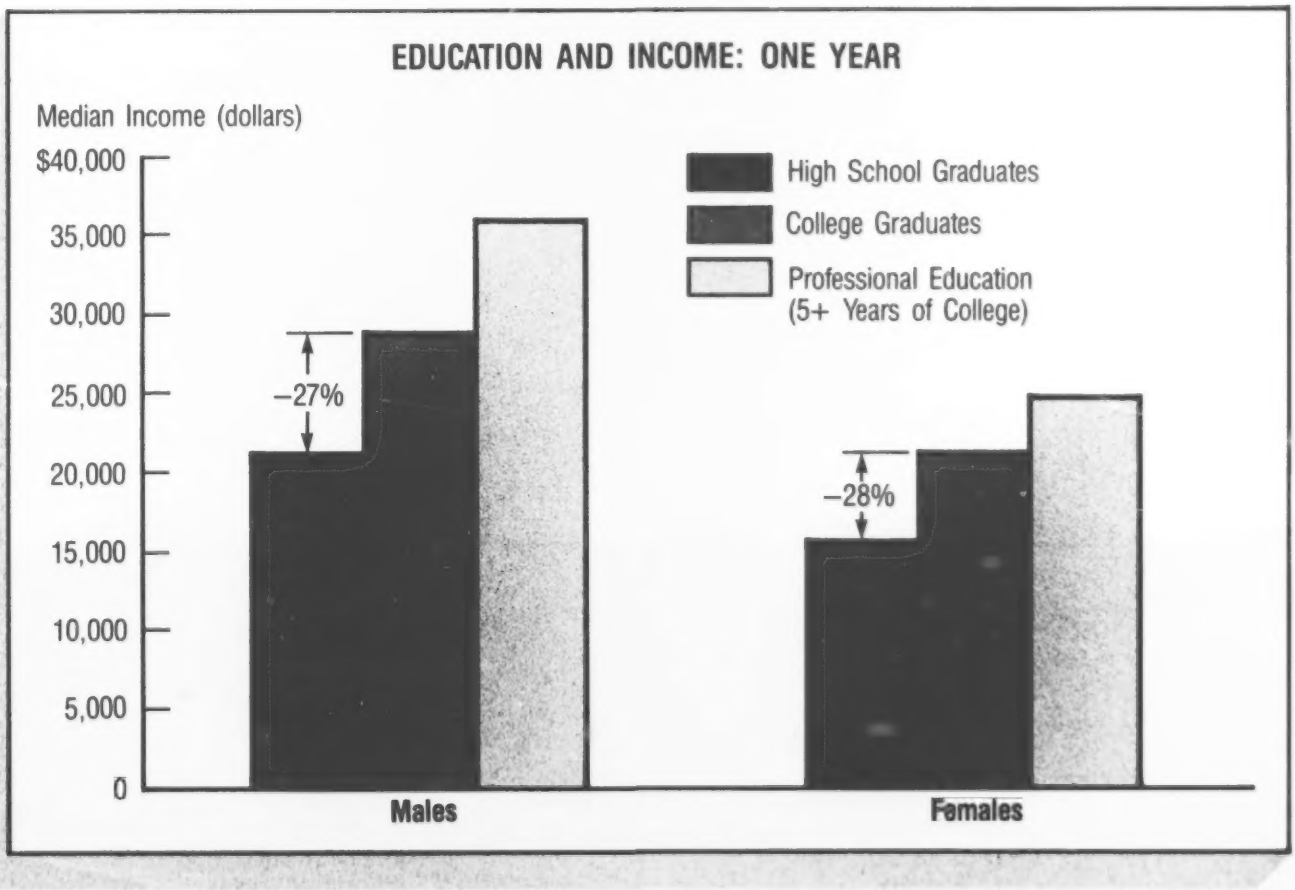
On the Benefits of Education Beyond High School

Education beyond high school is one of the best economic investments any young person can make—and that public and private funds can assist. The evidence for this claim has never been as strong as it is today.

The documentation that follows applies mostly to graduates and students of higher education institutions. Little is known through definitive research studies about the economic benefits of noncollegiate postsecondary education and training. But many skilled occupations not requiring college education clearly command substantial earnings, often exceeding those of many college graduates. While the Commission shares the generalized conviction that graduates of programs not leading to a baccalureate degree are also substantially benefitted, it calls upon the federal government's statistical agencies to devise an effective assessment of the relative benefits deriving from such investments of time and resources.

As the following graph illustrates:[1]

- Male college graduates between the ages of 25 and 34 earned a median income of $28,834 in 1985. High school graduates in the same age range earned only $20,936—27 percent less.
- The difference was just as striking among women. College graduates earned a median income of $21,027. High school graduates earned $15,053—28 percent less.

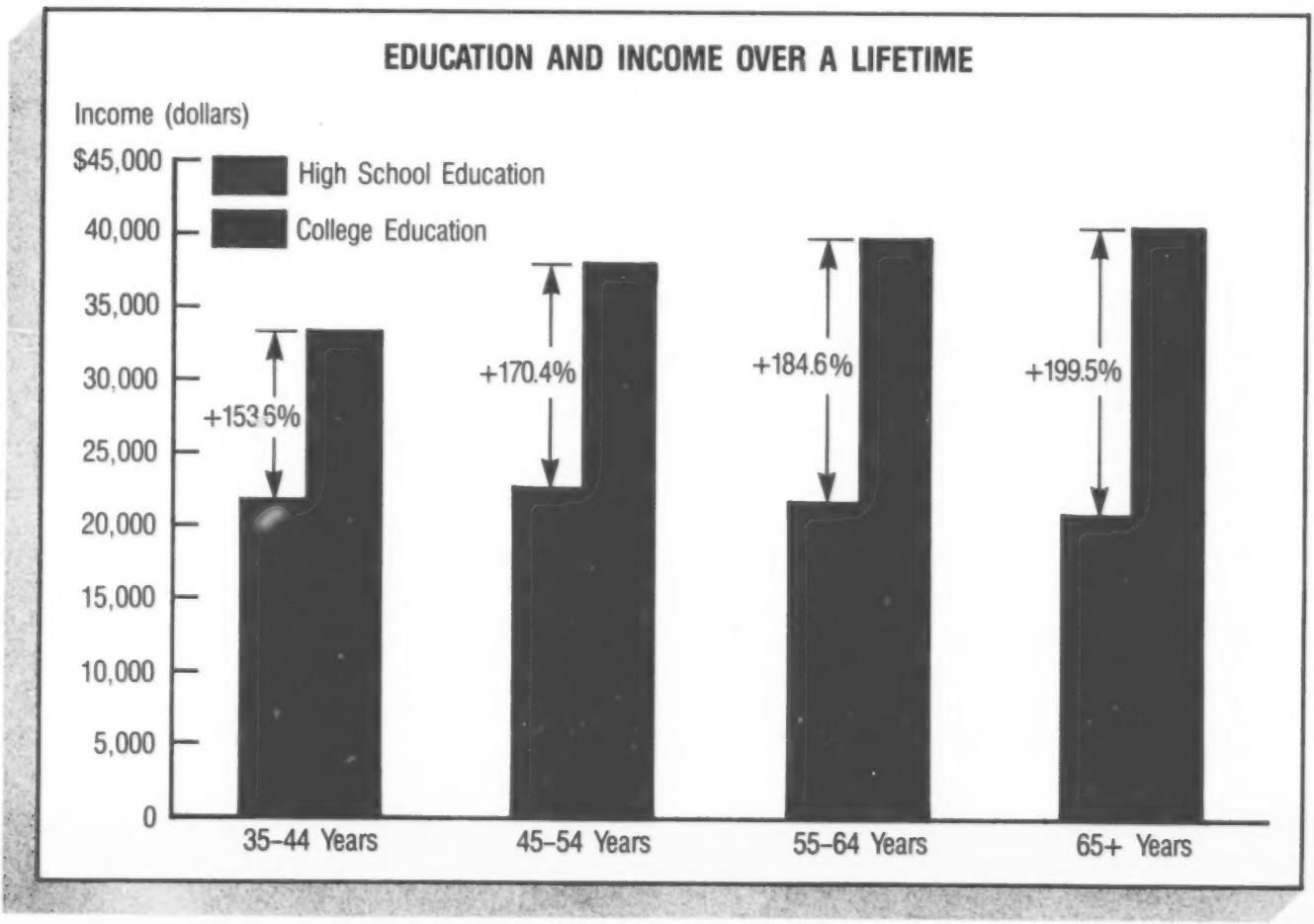


- Professional education increases the earnings potential of both men and women. Men with five or more years of college training had a median income in 1985 of $35,097. Women with the same level of training earned $24,624.

Stated more dramatically, while high school graduates have approximate lifelong earnings $250,000 greater than dropouts, graduates of four-year colleges have lifetime earnings $450,000 greater than high school completers and $700,000 more than high school dropouts.[2]

College graduates' income advantage grows over time. This happens because the earnings of college graduates increase as they get older, while the earnings of high school graduates reach an early plateau. Annual income levels by age group are as follows:[3]

- 35-44 years old: college education, $33,197; high school education, $21,601, a differential of 153.6 percent.
- 45-54 years old: college education, $37,989; high school education, $22,291, a 170.4 percent differential.
- 55-64 years old: college education, $39,898; high school education, $21,603, a 184.6 percent differential.
- over 65 years old: college education, $40,039; high school education, $20,068, a 199.5 percent differential.



Even during the last 15 years of economic stagnation and generally falling incomes for youth and young families, college graduates lost less in purchasing power than less well-educated groups. (See Chapter 1, Table 6.)

Thus, we can say with assurance that expanding educational opportunity and attainment provides an enormous leg up for young adults who wish to marry, build stable families, and stay clear of the handicaps.

obstacles, and problem behaviors that are so highly correlated with unemployment, poverty, and near-poverty earnings. Also, of course, youth with the good fortune to have parents who went to college have an important advantage in these fiscal comparisons.

The dollar value of advanced education receives so much attention that there is a natural tendency to overlook the *nonmonetary benefits* such education provides to both the individual and society at large. At its most basic level, writes distinguished economist and academic leader Howard Bowen,[4] a college education helps "emancipate" young people from their childhood and adolescence. It places them in new settings and situations that encourage them to discover new talents and interests. In what is literally an adventure in self-discovery for millions of young men and women, new ideas, roles, and lifestyles are explored as the student moves toward shaping his or her own adult identity.

College graduates are more likely to be open-minded and receptive to new ideas, willing to face and try to solve long-standing problems. These traits serve them well as individuals and benefit the communities in which they live and work.

On a personal level, Bowen cites studies that document that the college graduate has an overall greater ability to cope with life's problems than a person who did not attend college. This reflects not only an increased level of skills and knowledge, but a sense of self-confidence, self-assurance, and control over one's destiny.

College-educated parents are often more able to devote time and money toward rearing their children, which in turn seems to lead to greater ability and achievement on the part of the children. College-educated persons tend to be healthier than others—because preventive health services are more available to them, because of an ability to develop a lifestyle related to improved health, and/or because their work environments generally involve less physical hazard.

In terms of the larger society, college graduates are more likely to cope with rapid social change and to participate in public and civic affairs. Societies with significant proportions of college graduates are more democratic, more egalitarian, and place a higher value on equality of opportunity.

Bowen concludes his summary of the research literature:

> *. . .over and above the monetary returns are the personal development and life enrichment of millions of people, the preservation of the cultural heritage, the advancement of knowledge and the arts, a major contribution to national prestige and power, and the direct satisfactions derived from college attendance and from living in a society where knowledge and the arts flourish. These nonmonetary benefits surely are far greater than monetary benefits—so much greater, in fact, that individual and social decisions about the future of higher education should be made primarily on the basis of nonmonetary considerations and only secondarily on the basis of monetary factors.*[5]

College graduates also vote more regularly, have lower divorce rates, and are less likely to be incarcerated. All in all, then, *higher education works*. While research on the benefits of other forms of post-high school education and training is quite sparse, we believe that *any* form of post-high school education and training that deepens and broadens the individual's skills and competences also yields rich payoffs in earnings, employability, self-esteem, and ability to make positive contributions as workers, parents, and community members. In this conviction, we join the growing national consensus that investments in well-tested human resources programs are essential to the future well-being of the American people.

NOTES

1. See our Interim Report, Chapter 3, and Bureau of the Census. *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1988*. Washington, DC: 108th Edition, 1988, Table 231, p. 139.
2. State of Michigan, Tuition Incentive Program, "Stack the Odds in Your Favor!" Lansing, MI: February 1988.
3. *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1988*, p. 139.
4. The best summary of these benefits is Howard R. Bowen, *Investment in Learning: The Individual and Social Value of American Higher Education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1977.
5. Bowen, p. 447.

Appendix F

Expanding Opportunities in Education and Training: Programs That Prove It Can Be Done

In Chapter 7, we argued that the nation should greatly expand opportunities for a larger portion of the Forgotten Half to pursue post-high school education and training. We proposed **Fair Chance: The Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act** to test the proposition that many low-income youth could be motivated to pursue these expanded opportunities if both the financial means and the necessary encouragements and support services were joined in a kind of "universal guarantee" applicable to their particular community or neighborhood.

In this Appendix, we review some programs that lead us to be optimistic about the abilities of our youth to benefit from the proposed expanded opportunities in post-high school education and training. These efforts deserve to be better understood and more widely adapted to the varying needs and interests of our diverse population. Taken together, they are paving stones on the pathways to success for America's youth and young families.

> *The path is largely through high school, where both explicit and implicit messages, including messages about the availability of aid, encourage or discourage college aspirations. The effect of many of these influences is hard to measure but the effects of them, taken together, are obviously very real and some of them are, to an important extent, independent of family background and ethnic community. If society wants more low-income and minority students to go to college, much of the effort must be in the high schools. . . . When such actions are taken, it will be up to the student aid system to give credibility to the choice of going to college and to make it financially feasible in fact.*[1]

SECONDARY SCHOOL SUPPORTS

If low-income youth are to continue their studies after high school, new strategies must promote success in high school and make clear, both to them and to their families, that postsecondary education and training is a realistic and attainable goal. To those strategies discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 of our January 1988 Interim Report, we add the following:[2]

- Poor and minority youth and their families must be attuned to considering college long before the last year of high school when they typically assess their next steps after graduation.
- Parents who have never been to college need to be reassured that, if a youngster can qualify, there will be sufficient financial aid to make further education possible. All levels of government, corporate and private philanthropy, and colleges themselves will have to provide more assurances that such aid is within reach.
- Junior high youth and their parents should attend college nights in high schools, and special opportunities should be provided for them to visit colleges, including their nearest community colleges.
- Parents and youth need college advisory centers, particularly in central city areas. These centers should remain open evenings and Saturdays and should counsel on *all* post-high school opportunities for education and training.
- Young adolescents, their parents, and their schools need to pay more attention to the courses chosen in grades 8, 9, and 10 so that the option of advanced education can be pursued systematically.

Schools that encourage college-going were studied by the National Counseling Project. Two model programs include T.C. Williams High School in Alexandria, Virginia, and Franklin High School in Los Angeles, California. The Guidance Resource Center of T.C. Williams enlists support from local black ministers, community organizations, and the statewide Project Discovery, a program to increase minority college enrollment. A school board-community endowment in Alexandria provides "last dollar" assistance to students who need

small grants in order to make college affordable after eligibility for public program support is established. The school's guidance department is open until 6 p.m. to accommodate working parents, and it conducts annual parent workshops to bolster parental understanding and support of their children's aspirations. In a sensible approach to counseling, entering freshmen are assigned counselors with whom they remain throughout their four years.

Franklin High School sends 80 percent of its largely Chicano student body to college. Jack Wright, the college coordinator, attributes much of their success to a determination to reach out to parents "day after day, year after year." The staff at Franklin starts the college process with junior high workshops, emphasis on course choices for incoming 9th graders, guidance courses for 10th graders, PSAT and SAT practice test-taking, and a monthly newsletter to alert students to upcoming tests, application deadlines, and other college information.[3]

STEP TO COLLEGE

One local example of an effective program to encourage high school students to try their hand at college—and one we think worthy of widespread adaptation and emulation—is Step to College (STC).[4]

When a San Francisco State University Hispanic studies professor, Jake Perea, observed that less than four percent of the University's 27,000 student body was Hispanic, he decided to do something about it. He collaborated with enthusiastic administrators at San Francisco's Mission High School who wanted more opportunities for their 95 percent minority student body (Filipinos, Southeast Asians, as well as blacks and Hispanics). The University agreed to waive its standard tuition fee for high school students to take one college course each semester of their senior year. Circumventing the barriers of transportation to campus and the unwillingness of many Hispanic parents to let their daughters leave the neighborhood after dark, San Francisco State professors offer college-level courses during after-school hours at the high school. In the first year, 47 high school seniors enrolled in STC. All 47 later enrolled in four-year colleges, including 42 who were admitted to San Francisco State University. "When I thought about college before, it seemed scary because I thought it would be too hard," said 17- year-old Flor Herrera. "But now I see it is easy to understand the work. I know I can make it."

Recommendations for STC participation come from the entire high school staff. Today, about 150 of the school's 330 seniors are enrolled in the program, including a gang leader whose potential was recognized by the school's custodian. In spite of predictions that they couldn't do college level work, Step to College says that its graduates are all still enrolled in college with a reported grade point average of 2.75.

Other features of Mission High's commitment to assist more of its students prepare for advanced education are worthy of note, especially since they stress the ways in which a student's early years can lead to later success. Almost a fifth of Mission High's 500 freshmen (9th graders), including many of its academically weakest students, are enrolled in a study skills program that teaches students how to study, take notes, prepare for examinations, and budget time. Thirty especially needy freshmen are paid $250 each semester to attend an after-school study hall three afternoons a week instead of seeking part-time employment; their "job" is to study and to learn. Two former Mission High graduates, now studying at San Francisco State, have also been hired under a private grant to tutor Mission's freshmen. And Mission's teachers meet weekly, on their own time, to discuss particular student problems and possible remedies.

Noting the need to give teachers "a shot in the arm," morale has been boosted by a staff field trip to Los Angeles to observe other exemplary programs, including the high school portrayed in the highly-applauded movie, *Stand and Deliver*.

STC now has spread to five other public and private high schools in the Bay Area. "Step to College is a very simple idea," observes Professor Perea. "A lot of people are giving their time and commitment to make sure this program works." What seems to make this program successful is different, and higher, expectations for youth. Lupe Tiernan, the vice principal in charge of the STC, looks each of the 150 seniors in the eye and says with infectious vigor and determination, "We believe in you. You're smart and you can make it." Each young person in STC strives to fulfill that expectation.

CAREER BEGINNINGS

Emphasizing higher education as an attainable goal, the involvement of colleges and universities, and one-to-one mentoring with successful and caring adults from the business community, Career Beginnings

(CB) is a significant departure from traditional work/education partnerships. CB is a nationally-organized, foundation-funded, locally-based program in which colleges and businesses work together to provide career support and direction for low-income youth enrolled in high school.

Operated by local colleges and universities on their own campuses, Career Beginnings seeks out junior year high school students who are believed to have what it takes to succeed in further education. In its first two years, CB paired over 5,000 high school juniors and seniors with individual mentors from the business and professional world to help these youth develop realistic career goals and plan collegiate educational opportunities to achieve them. A combined summer enrichment/employment program in which young people work at jobs developed by the college and the cooperating businesses is included in the program. So is part-time study during the summer months: workshops in career preparation, college readiness, life planning, and, especially, remedial education in basic skills.

In its first two years, the program has achieved notable successes. Attrition rates have been extraordinarily low (less than 2.5 percent), and high school graduation rates have been exceptionally high (more than 95 percent). More than 60 percent of the participating students have enrolled in postsecondary education and training programs (versus the 30-40 percent enrollment rate typical of youth not enrolled in Career Beginnings).

One hundred high school juniors are asked to participate in each local project. To be eligible, students must have met far more than the minimum attendance requirements during their high school sophomore year and not have a history of significant disciplinary problems in either their schools or local communities. Students must demonstrate determination but only average academic achievement—they seldom rank in the top 20 percent or in the bottom 20 percent.

Project sites must certify that at least one-half of Career Beginnings participants are economically disadvantaged. At least 80 percent of all enrollees must be first-generation college students (neither parent has earned a degree beyond the high school diploma) and, to preserve gender balance, at least 45 percent must be males. To date, 65 percent of Career Beginnings enrollees are black, 18 percent Hispanic, eight percent Asian. Over half are from single-parent families.

The unique feature of Career Beginnings is that it identifies students who have demonstrated ability and ambition, but who may be at risk of dropping out of high school because of financial, personal, or family pressure. The mentoring and campus-based summer programs are ideally suited to these young people. Overall, the program appears to offer significant promise of greatly expanding post-high school education success rates for many low-income youth.

Career Beginnings now has 25 college-based projects in 15 states. The program, developed and managed by the Center for Human Resources, Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare of Brandeis University, with support from a consortium of foundations, will soon be expanding. A rigorous evaluation of seven sites will be completed in 1990.[5] An interesting and well-evaluated program for supporting potential dropouts through similar use of the summer for work and skills improvement is found in the STEP program (see Chapter 3, pp. 45-46, of our Interim Report).

POSTSECONDARY SUPPORTS

Once a disadvantaged youth enters college or some form of postsecondary training, he or she often needs to continue receiving the benefits of special support programs. Accordingly, learning and academic support centers have mushroomed on most campuses in the past two decades. Originally designed for those requiring remedial work to remove deficits in basic skills, they now offer help in a broad range of activities designed to improve student retention and academic performance. One large study, in Ohio, concluded that such programs "yielded 'substantial, measurable improvement' in basic skills, college grades, retention rates, and accomplishment of personal growth objectives."[6]

The National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council and numerous other independent studies have also found that tutoring increases retention. This happens whether the tutoring is part of a learning center program or not. Peer tutoring received special praise: "Older, more experienced students can be effective as tutors because they are peers to whom the students can relate, particularly if they are of the same race" and have been specially trained for this role.

SPECIAL SERVICES FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS

When Congress authorized a range of student financial assistance programs under the Higher Education Act of 1965, it simultaneously recognized that many students would require special help in order to succeed in college. Financial aid dollars alone would be insufficient; supporting outreach, information, orientation, counseling, tutoring, and other services were also needed. The aim of these programs, popularly called the TRIO programs, was: (a) to help disadvantaged students succeed in their college studies, and (b) to help postsecondary educational institutions learn how to respond to students whose previous experience and family circumstances led them to view college as an unattainable dream.[7]

The largest of the TRIO programs, Special Services for Disadvantaged Students (SSDS), provides remedial and other special services for students with academic potential who need instructional, guidance, or counseling help in pursuing postsecondary education. Eligible students come from "deprived educational, cultural, or economic backgrounds," have physical handicaps, or are of limited English language ability. The program, begun in fiscal year 1970, has grown from an initial 30,000 students to about 145,000 in the current year with a budget of about $145 million. (It had served over 181,000 annually in 1981, before the inflationary erosion of federal funding began to take its heavy toll.)

A federal government evaluation released in 1984 found that about 60 percent of freshmen receiving academic services (tutoring, group instruction, academic counseling) were still enrolled in studies three years later and, of these, 86 percent were full-time students. Most students received SSDS services beyond their freshman year. These at-risk students showed superior performance on three critical outcome measures: continued enrollment in studies, course units attempted, and courses completed. When necessary non-academic services (student orientation, cultural services, assessment, referrals) were added, students did even better, showing

> *consistently positive associations with all four of the long-term outcome measures . . . these services appear to have had a large positive impact . . . It may be that the non-academic services allay students' anxiety about competing in a strange environment. More specifically, by giving participating students a better idea of what they were expected to do in college, how they were expected to behave, and what help and resources they could expect from their institutions, they have been able to adjust to the college experience in a very positive manner.*

The evaluators concluded that the program, then still experimental, produced these successes with an average of only 14 hours of student services and at a cost of $319 per student (in 1980 dollars). Greater focus and intensity of treatment was recommended along with an increase in non-academic services, "all of which appear to be cost efficient and program effective."[8]

TALENT SEARCH

Talent Search provides services—like counseling, information, completing financial aid forms—to help disadvantaged youth pursue a college education. Talent Search also helps young people locate the funds to finance that education, primarily through the federal need-based Pell Grant program, as well as state and private funds.

Talent Search emphasizes a long-term developmental approach based on the recognition that without early intervention and support most disadvantaged students will be lost to postsecondary education. Talent Search's interventions begin in high school, sometimes as early as the seventh grade. The projects seek to strengthen motivation and academic skills. A typical project starts by providing freshmen with career exploration and decision-making workshops and then structures a program that follows students through each successive year and into their postsecondary education. The focus often is on choosing appropriate high school courses that will prepare students for postsecondary education. Students also receive assistance in completing college admission and financial aid applications. Career counseling and follow-up take place in postsecondary institutions.

Talent Search grants go to colleges and universities and community-based organizations, like the League of United Latin American Citizens, Aspira of Puerto Rico, and McKinley House of Chicago. In its first year, the average grant of $49,000 permitted the various projects to serve 50,000 students at an average cost of $42 each. By 1982, Talent Search had grown to some 167 projects serving nearly 200,000 students from an appropriation of $17

million, or $86 each. A total of $21 million is budgeted for fiscal 1988 in order to serve 191,000 students.

Current appropriations levels allow Talent Search and its companion program, Educational Opportunity Centers, to serve less than five percent of all eligible students. Nonetheless, these two programs, according to the House Committee on Education and Labor, were responsible for assisting an estimated 20 percent of all minority freshman who entered college in 1982.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY CENTERS

Educational Opportunity Centers (EOC), established by the Education Amendments of 1972, promote postsecondary education among adults from communities with low-income populations. Funding for EOCs has not increased as much as Talent Search projects. The fiscal 1988 budget of $10.8 million is intended to provide services to 107,000 persons.

Centers publicize their activities through large-scale public information campaigns, including the media, job fairs, and public workshops. EOC clients are mostly youth age 19 or older. Like Talent Search clients, two-thirds must be both low-income and first-generation college students. EOC offers no uniform package of services for all clients. Rather, EOC staff tailors services to an individual's personal and educational needs. Services do tend to cluster, however, around career counseling and information and materials concerning specific postsecondary programs and institutions.

Performance data are limited, but the College Entrance Examination Board cited one Northeastern EOC in which 93 percent of the clients had enrolled in college and half had earned a degree, while 12 percent were still enrolled. In addition, full-time employment among clients increased from 18 to 45 percent. The Board found that the EOC program, like Talent Search, had delivered its services,

> *"in an increasingly strategic, cost-effective and professional manner. . . . Both programs have addressed major obstacles to their diverse clients' access to higher education through a variety of means adapted to particular local circumstances and individual needs . . . there is a persistent and increasing need for such services across the country, a need that is unlikely to be met through any other approach."*[9]

NOTES

1. The Eureka Project. *The Critical Difference: Student Financial Aid and Educational Opportunities in California.* Sacramento, CA: March 1988, p. 41.
2. See *Keeping the Options Open: Final Report of the Commission on Precollege Guidance and Counseling.* New York: College Entrance Examination Board, October 1986.
3. "Guidance and Counseling: Too Little, Too Late?" *The Harvard Education Letter,* Vol. IV, No. 3, June 1988, p. 2.
4. Angie Cannon, "Getting Minorities Into College," *San Francisco Chronicle,* February 13, 1988, p. A2. STC was visited by the Commission and staff on May 2, 1988.
5. Career Beginnings Program, Center for Human Resources, Heller Graduate School, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02254 (617)736-3770 and testimony of Erik Butler before the US Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Subcommittee on Employment and Productivity, April 27, 1988.
6. Oscar T. Lenning, Ken Sauer, Philip E. Beal. *Student Retention Strategies.* Washington, DC: Association for the Study of Higher Education, 1980; Higher Education Research Report No. 8, 1980, especially pp. 33-35.
7. Additional information about these programs may be obtained from the National Council of Educational Opportunity Associations, Suite 310, 1025 Vermont Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20005 (202)347-7430.
8. US Department of Education. "Evaluation of the Special Services for Disadvantaged Students (SSDS) Program." Washington, DC: Executive Summary, September 10, 1984.
9. Paul L. Franklin. *Helping Disadvantaged Youth and Adults Enter College: An Assessment of Two Federal Programs.* Washington, DC: Washington Office of the College Board, 1985, p. 16.

Appendix G

On Accountability in Postsecondary Education

All of American education is being challenged today to improve the quality of learning among its students, and it is responding in a variety of constructive ways. As taxpayers confront growing costs, their questions about the quality of the product are legitimately more insistent. So are the concerns of parents and students, who have been called upon to pay a larger share of the cost of colleges and other postsecondary institutions during the 1980s. One signal about the level of student feeling for the value of the education they have received may be the high default rate on student loans.

The Commission believes that *we must pay attention to this public demand for evidence of program quality and seek effective new approaches to accountability.* Educational institutions and the public both need to know more than they now do about the changes that institutions bring about in the learning, skills, attitudes, and maturity of their students. What "added value" has resulted from a training experience or a course of study is not an easy question to answer.[1] But our postsecondary education institutions should struggle with it. We need reassurance that education provides what it promises as we invest in it more generously.

It is equally important, however, to develop accountability in a fashion that does not bring government into the classroom or infringe academic freedom. Furthermore, so called "systems" of accountability can threaten a standardization of educational practice that will limit both invention and initiative. Consequently, the search for quality measures and valid judgments about our institutions is one requiring careful planning and much wisdom.

Historically, it was thought that competition for college students and independent accreditation mechanisms would ensure that standards of quality would be met in the nation's postsecondary educational institutions. However, significant questions being raised today ask whether those standards are, in fact, adequate. No existing market pressures or oversight procedures necessarily ensure that large new investments in job training, remedial education, and necessary support services would be wisely and effectively spent. The nation's limited experience in this area—through the use of federal Pell Grants by students enrolled in some proprietary schools with questionable recruitment practices and poor retention and completion rates—suggests a need for caution, but not for inaction.[2]

The public's demands for accountability take many different forms. Of most immediate application to concerns of this Commission are questions like these:

- Does the institution's curriculum, in fact, produce students who are able to perform effectively in the workplace?
- Do the institution's graduates know, and can they do, what the awarded degrees and certificates imply?
- Do the students obtain the kinds of knowledge and experience that will enable them to function effectively in the broader community, as well as in the workplace?[3]
- Does the institution make adequate efforts to help students succeed through counseling and remediation, or is it largely a turnstile to collect tuition fees that lets students drop out at the first sign of difficulty?

At a minimum, it is reasonable for taxpayers to be assured that any institution, public or private, claiming to prepare its graduates for specific occupations be required to prove that at least half of its graduates do, in fact, find employment in that occupation or related fields. This was the policy until 1982 for programs approved by state agencies for payment of Veterans Administration benefits; it is time for state accrediting agencies to be vested with similar authority and effective powers of enforcement.[4]

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NOTES

1. See, for example, Robert J. Grossman, "The Great Debate over Institutional Accountability," *College Board Review*, No. 147, Spring 1988, pp. 4-6, 38-42, including a useful bibliography on the accountability debate in higher education. See also Steven M. Cahn, *Saints and Scamps: Ethics in Academia*. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1986.

2. T. Edward Hollander, New Jersey's Chancellor of Higher Education, proposes radical surgery to deal with the unacceptably high student loan default rate among trade school students:

   > *. . .we should stop pretending that trade school job training programs can be financed indirectly like higher education through Pell Grants and student loans. The poor and disadvantaged in our society who choose job training programs as a way of advancement should have that training paid in part or in whole through programs similar to the Job Training Partnership Act. They also deserve a guarantee from the government that the programs available to them have been approved and offer a reasonable chance of success. That is why trade school programs should be removed from the federal student assistance programs and funded —and regulated—through a separate program whose costs and benefits can be measured directly.*
   >
   > *The only other way to protect poor disadvantaged young people from the allure of a "quick-fix," short-term trade school program financed by student loans is to restrict their access to programs from which they are unlikely to be able to benefit. The present system of licensing and accreditation has failed and we continue to try to patch up an unworkable system. Financing students from short-term training programs that are inadequately monitored causes the exploitation of the students and Title IV (federal student financial aid programs).*
   >
   (Testimony before US House of Representatives Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, June 16, 1988.)

   One consequence of Dr. Hollander's proposal under current circumstances would be to subject the approximately two million students in trade or career schools to the even greater vagaries of funding under the JTPA, in which only one in 20 eligible persons is admitted to a training program. Moreover, there is probably even less monitoring of program quality under JTPA than under the Department of Education's student aid programs. Dr. Hollander has clearly recognized a major problem, but we suggest a continuing search for a more equitable and effective solution.

3. Grossman, p. 6.

4. Although this provision was repealed by Public Law 97-306, ostensibly to relieve institutions of the administrative costs of such surveys, the Veterans Administration still asks state approving agencies to ensure that vocational courses do, in fact, lead to employment in that occupation. See Veterans Administration, DVB Circular 22-82-10, November 4, 1982, and also the extensive accountability provisions in Section 113 of the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act, Public Law 98-524.

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Donna James, John F. Jennings, Clifford M. Johnson, Sharon S. Johnson, Edward J. Meade, Jr., George Kaplan, Jane Kendall, James Kielsmeier, Robert H. Koff, Gail Kong, Martin A. Kramer, Roger Landrum, Bernard Lefkowitz, Robert I. Lerman, Melvin D. Levine, Sar Levitan, Anne C. Lewis, John Lewko, Tom Lindsley, Rae Linefsky, Diane Lipton, Julia Littell, David H. Lynn, Edwin W. Martin, John H. Martin,

Ian McNett, Martha Minow, Arnold Mitchem, Linda Nessel, John Ogbu, Theodora Ooms, Cynthia Parsons, Eileen M. Pasztor, Arlene Pedone, Linda S. Pickett, Jane Quinn, Gordon A. Raley, John E. Rankin III, Janet R. Reingold, David W. Richart, Harold Richman, David F. Ricks, Paul Riesman, Jerold Roschwalb, Margaret Rosenberry, Harilyn Rousso, Robert A. Rubenstein, Charles B. Saunders, Jr., Esther F. Schaeffer, Lisbeth B. Schorr,

Jonathan Sher, Margaret C. Simms, Frank Slobig, Michael E. Smith, Patricia A. Smith, Irving J. Spitzberg, Jr., Leonard W. Stern, Dorothy Stoneman, Mercer Sullivan, Andrew M. Sum, Robert Taggart, Ruby Takanishi, Virginia Thorndike, Kathleen K. Townsend, William Treanor, Harriet Tyson-Bernstein, David Vandergoot, Kathy Voetgle, Michael S. Wald, Lisa J. Walker, James R. Wetzel, Miriam M. Wood, David Wynn, Joan Wynn, James Youniss.

Publications of

YOUTH AND AMERICA'S FUTURE:

THE WILLIAM T. GRANT FOUNDATION COMMISSION ON WORK, FAMILY AND CITIZENSHIP

The Grant Commission issued its Interim Report, **The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America,** on January 20, 1988. The Commission's Final Report is **The Forgotten Half: Pathways to Success for America's Youth and Young Families.** *Single* copies will be available without charge in November 1988.

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* * *

American Youth: A Statistical Snapshot *by James Wetzel*

Drawing on the latest statistically reliable government surveys, this demographic review captures much of the diversity inherent in a collective portrait of American 15–24 year-olds. Includes data on marriage, childbearing, living arrangements, income, education, employment, health, and juvenile justice. Historical trends as well as future projections are presented along with *12 charts, 18 tables.*

Current Federal Policies and Programs for Youth *by J.R. Reingold and Associates*

Who is doing what for youth in the federal government? This concise survey of current federal policies and programs for youth in Education, Health and Human Services, Labor, Justice, and Defense provides a one-of-a-kind resource for researchers, practitioners, analysts, and policymakers who want quick access to accurate information about federal youth policy. *Includes state-level allocation tables.*

Youth Policies and Practices in Selected Countries *by Rosemary George*

Presents the salient features of the post-compulsory education and training policies of 11 foreign countries designed to smooth the transition of non-college-bound youth into the workplace. The countries are: Australia, Britain, Canada, Finland, France, West Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Japan, Norway, and Sweden. *Includes tables.*

Facts and Faith: A Status Report on Youth Service *by Anne C. Lewis.* **Commentary** *by Jane Kendall*

Clarifies the underlying assumptions and reviews the current state of knowledge about youth service programs, including barriers and supports for such programs. The overriding challenge of youth service is to combine the dual needs that youth have: to work and to serve. Citing dozens of local, state, and national youth service programs, this analysis is a vital resource for policymakers and community leaders. Commentary stresses the value of service-learning.

- Copies of these four **Information Papers** are available for *$5.00 each postpaid* from: **William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Youth and America's Future,** Suite 301, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036-5541.

- The following **Working Papers** were prepared for the Commission's deliberations by a variety of scholars and practitioners. They are available from the Commission at *$10.00 each postpaid.*

Youth Transition from Adolescence to the World of Work *by Garth L. Mangum.* **Commentaries** *by Marvin Lazerson and Stephen F. Hamilton.*

Summarizes labor market realities, employer expectations, parental influences, and the difficulties youth experience as they move into the world of work. Highlights vocational education, apprenticeship, and on-the-job training opportunities available for youth. Makes recommendations for how families, schools, and workplaces can aid youth in the transition to work.

Youth and the Workplace: Second-Chance Programs and the Hard-to-Serve *by Thomas J. Smith, Gary C. Walker, Rachel A. Baker, (Public/Private Ventures).* **Commentaries** *by Gary Burtless, Jacqueline P. Danzberger, Morton H. Sklar, Richard F. Elmore.*

Second-chance education, training, and employment programs of the last decade are detailed. Includes tables and an appendix of model programs for at-risk youth. Four commentaries expand the research and policy recommendations.

Who Will Train and Educate Tomorrow's Workers? The Financing of Non-College-Bound Young Workers' Recurrent Education *by Robert Sheets, Andrew Hahn, Robert Lerman and Erik Butler.*

Advocates the need for universal recurrent education and discusses practical ways of achieving expanded post-secondary opportunities for non-college youth, the major losers in today's labor market. Describes public, private, and cooperative strategies that can begin to close the gap between education and work.

Youth and Work: What We Know, What We Don't Know, What We Need to Know *by Ivan Charner and Bryna Shore Fraser (National Institute for Work and Learning).* **Commentaries** *by Sue E. Berryman and Hayes Mizell.*

A comprehensive analysis of research on the educational, occupational, and personal benefits youth accrue through work. Examines work patterns of demographic subgroups, roles and responsibilities of youth workers, reasons for and attitudes toward participation in work, and actual work experiences.

The Bridge: Cooperative Education for All High School Students *by Cynthia Parsons.* **Commentaries** *by Dennis Gray and David Lynn, Morgan V. Lewis, Roy L. Wooldridge.*

Calling for a fundamental change in American high schools, the founder of a successful Vermont community service program presents a rationale and methodology for experiential and cooperative education models. Underscores the benefits of combining learning and doing in a school-based, supervised setting.

What Does the Independent Sector Do for 16–24 Year-Olds? *by Miriam M. Wood.* **Commentaries** *by Virginia Hodgkinson and Leonard W. Stern.*

Identifies, quantifies, and analyzes the role of independent sector agencies and organizations serving 16–24 year-olds. Interprets factors, including funding and organizational barriers, that affect the vitality of human service agencies.

The Interaction of Family, Community, and Work in the Socialization of Youth *by Stephen F. Hamilton.* **Commentaries** *by John Ogbu and Paul Riesman.*

Explores the critical connections among family, community, and the workplace as they interact with young people. Calls for establishing intentional policy among these three spheres of influence to bolster their separate, but interconnected roles in socializing youth.

The Difference that Differences Make: Adolescent Diversity and Its Deregulation *by Melvin D. Levine, M.D.* **Commentaries** *by Michael S. Wald and John H. Martin.*

Discusses how teaching methods and expectations can constrict the ways in which young people learn, denying many access to education and employment opportunities. Contends that predetermined memory, verbal, and written criteria—to which a large number of students cannot and do not respond well—are often the only vehicles for showing knowledge. Argues for a wider lens through which to view young people and their abilities.

Transitional Difficulties of Out-of-Home Youth *by Joy Duva and Gordon Raley.* **Commentaries** *by Eileen M. Pasztor and Peter R. Correia III and Anita Fream.*

A targeted look at a vulnerable part of the youth population—foster care youth and runaways—who they are, how many they are, what programs serve them, what special problems they encounter in their transition to adulthood, what more needs to be done. Examines independent living programs that assist older out-of-home youth in preparing for life and work.

The Transition to Adulthood of Youth with Disabilities *by David Vandergoot, Amy Gottlieb, and Edwin W. Martin.* **Commentaries** *by Sharon Stewart Johnson and Diane Lipton and Mary Lou Breslin.*

Cites youth with disabilities as an economically disadvantaged subgroup and explores family support, education, and employment issues as well as the barriers to community participation and self-sufficiency particular to these youth. Includes extensive research findings and policy recommendations.

Mutuality in Parent-Adolescent Relationships *by James Youniss.* **Commentaries** *by Ann C. Crouter and John H. Lewko.*

Through a comprehensive review of recent research, counters popular mythology that adolescent relationships with parents and peers are negative. Provides a context for adolescent-parent and adolescent-peer relationships to guide program development and policy considerations.

Communities and Adolescents: An Exploration of Reciprocal Supports *by Joan Wynn, Harold Richman, Robert A. Rubenstein, and Julia Littell, with Brian Britt and Carol Yoken.* **Commentaries** *by Diane P. Hedin and Judith B. Erickson.*

What can communities do to be more responsive to youth and what can communities expect from youth? Explores the rich variety of community supports that can be made available to adolescents if individual communities decide to make youth a priority. Appendix includes 22 selected studies describing the differing impacts of community supports on adolescents.

Determinants of Youth's Successful Entry into Adulthood *by Sarah Gideonse.* **Commentaries** *by Elijah Anderson and David F. Ricks.*

What prevents youth from successful entry into adulthood: individual defects or environment flaws? Addresses the factors which account for the difficulties youth have in assuming adult roles. Examines characteristics and circumstances that promote positive changes in young people and explains why it is never too late for interventions—even for youth with multiple problems.

Family Influences on Transitions to the Adult Job Market *by Robert I. Lerman and Theodora Ooms.* **Commentaries** *by Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr. and Margaret Simms.*

Analyzes the often ignored interrelationship of family influences and youth employment decisions. Emphasizes the critical connections among youth's living arrangements, the responsibilities of young people, and their choices about work.

Barriers to Developing Comprehensive and Effective Youth Services *by William Treanor.* **Commentaries** *by David Richart and Dorothy Stoneman.*

A provocative discussion of the youth service world: prevailing attitudes toward youth, history, funding dilemmas, and leadership and staffing scenarios. Recommends a prototype for youth service systems.